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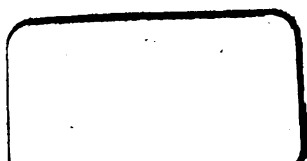


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JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE



JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE.
FROM THE PICTURE AT MELVILLE

THE CHARTER OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE
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1284

**JOHN GRAHAM
OF CLAVERHOUSE
VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE
1648-1689**

**BY
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PREFACE

It is nearly half a century since Napier's *Life and Times of John Graham of Claverhouse* appeared. That work, tantalising in its arrangement, provocative in its tone, furnished a mass of material wherewith to test the accuracy of facts which, unchallenged, had acquired a prescriptive right of association with Claverhouse and his career. Since Napier's frenzied work was published nothing has been written to displace him from his position as the one available and exhaustive source of information upon the subject. A single considerable effort has been made to deal with Claverhouse's career and character (*Clavers: The Despot's Champion*, by 'a Southern': Longmans, 1889), but professedly the authoress's aim was to rearrange Napier's materials rather than to offer fresh ones.

The present work is an attempt to marshal the large amount of untouched material, bearing directly or indirectly upon Claverhouse's career, which has accumulated. The nature and sources of it are sufficiently indicated in the notes to this volume. But it may be observed, that while a great proportion of it has been published only recently, an appreciable amount of it was available to Napier, and was overlooked by him. The remark applies also to various MS. sources which have been hitherto untapped. The result is, I hope, both to

present a rounder and completer picture of Claverhouse than has hitherto been available, and to dissipate the appalling number of errors which, for very lack of careful probing, have come to be accepted as unchallengeable facts in the record of his career.

An invitation from Sir James Balfour Paul to write the section upon the title 'Viscount of Dundee' for his new edition of Douglas's *Peerage* has rendered it unnecessary for me in this volume to enter minutely upon the early history of the Grahams of Claverhouse.

In regard to the MS. sources which I have consulted, I desire in particular to express my deep indebtedness to Mr. J. Maitland Thomson, Curator of the Historical Department of the General Register House, Edinburgh, and to his profound knowledge, so freely laid at my disposal, of the unpublished MSS. under his charge. I have also to express my acknowledgments to Mrs. Graham-Wigan for placing the Duntrune MSS. at my disposal, and to Messrs. J. and J. Ogilvie, of Dundee, for the facilities they have afforded me for consulting them; to Mr. Henry Scrymgeour-Wedderburn of Wedderburn for permission to consult the documents in the Scrymgeour-Wedderburn Charter Chest, and to Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, K.C., for his kind interest and help therein; to the Earl of Home for allowing me to consult the Douglas MSS. in his possession, and to Mr. Robert Strathern for the information he has afforded me therefrom; to Mr. A. H. Millar for the information derived from the MSS. of the Town Council of Dundee; to Mr. Kenneth MacDonald, Town Clerk of Inverness, for transcripts from the MS. records of that municipality; to

the Keeper of the Advocates' Library for information from the MSS. under his charge; to Mr. J. Maitland Anderson for information from the records of the University of St. Andrews; to the Assistant Keeper of the Archives at the Hague for information drawn from the Dutch Archives; to the French Ministry of War; and to Mr. F. L. Mawdesley for placing at my disposal a rare broadside which has enabled me to settle the authenticity of the letter and speech attributed to Dundee after the battle of Killiecrankie. The British Museum MSS. have yielded one unpublished letter of Dundee. The Scottish MS. Warrant Book in the Record Office has furnished a mass of new and valuable information.

Among the illustrations in this volume, I have to thank Miss Leslie Melville, the Earl of Strathmore, and Colonel D. M. Smythe for the portraits of Dundee and his wife. That of Lady Dundee has been familiar hitherto only in a rough sketch published originally in the Bannatyne volume of Dundee's letters. I have included a map showing Dundee's itinerary in the campaign of 1689, and also a large-scale plan of the district about Killiecrankie, to illustrate the unconventional account of the battle which I venture to advance.

To employ Dundee's career as the foundation for an historical treatise upon the causes and significance of the Revolution of 1689 is not practicable, and in this book is not attempted. At the same time my object has been to connect his career as closely as possible with the development of the policy which he was appointed to carry out, and, as is appropriate, to display the military history both

of the Revolution and of the post-Restoration period, with which Dundee was so intimately connected, in greater detail than so far has been attempted. My hope is, that to that extent, this study of Dundee may be accepted as a not exclusively biographical contribution to the history of Scotland in the period.

C. S. T.

KING'S COLLEGE, OLD ABERDEEN,
9th September 1904.

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JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE.

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND EARLY YEARS

THE lands of Claverhouse lie three miles or so north-eastward of Dundee, where the Dichty curves its narrow channel on its journey from the Sidlaws to the sea. For nearly three centuries, from the time of Flodden to that of Killiecrankie, the owners of them, and of wider acres absorbed into the estate, were a branch of the Grahams, whose record is notched deep on the tallies of Scotland's history. The Grahams of Claverhouse trace back to the dimmer ancestry of the name through William, Lord of Graham,¹ and his second wife, Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of King Robert the Third. So, through the connecting generations, the blood of the Stewart flowed to the Viscount of Dundee, the House's champion of a later time — *Unica depulsi Gramus tutela Stuarti*,² as his comrade of the *Grameid* called him. The eldest son of William of Graham and Lady Mary Stewart was Robert Graham of Strathecarron and Fintry.³ From him and his second wife, Matilda, daughter of Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, the Grahams of Claverhouse descend. To display

¹ He is usually styled Lord of Kincardine. I adopt the style which the Lyon has sanctioned in *The Scots Peerage*.

² Philip, *The Grameid*, ed. Canon Murdoch, Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 190.

³ The Forfarshire descendants of Robert Graham took the name of their Stirlingshire home to their property near Dundee. Mains Castle is also, though less commonly, called Fintry Castle.

the family tree would be tedious and profitless, save to dislodge many inaccuracies which have nested in it.¹ Nor, with an exception here and there, is it other than a record of nonentities dowered with a competence. Dundee inherited little but a name and a property from his forebears. One may traverse the prologue rapidly.

The first Graham of Claverhouse was John, the elder son of Robert of Strathcarron and Fintry, and Matilda Scrymgeour. How and when he acquired Claverhouse is not clearly recorded. The neighbouring property of Ballargus was obtained by or for him in 1481. Claverhouse was added early in the sixteenth century. His son John, who married a sister of Cardinal Beton, had a Crown charter of both properties on 11th November 1532. This second John's son, also named John, erected them into a single tenandry under a Crown charter of 13th July 1541, and, dying unmarried or childless, passed them on to his brother William. William's son and successor, Sir William Graham, was the first of the lairds of Claverhouse to leave the faintest record on their country's history. He was knighted, represented his county in the Parliament of 1633, busied himself assiduously in the local duties of his station, and incidentally expanded his property not inconsiderably. Glenogilvie was his purchase, and henceforward, probably, his home. His son George, a Justice of the Peace, is also discernible, with incongruous association, in a drunken brawl at Perth. He married Mariot Fotheringham of Powrie, died about April 1645, and was succeeded by his son William, the father of the Viscount. William Graham—who is usually and inaccurately styled Sir William—married, a few weeks before his father's death, Lady Magdalene Carnegie, fifth and youngest daughter of John, Earl of Ethie, afterwards

¹ I refer for authorities to my article on the title 'Viscount of Dundee' in *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir James Balfour Paul.

first Earl of Northesk.¹ She survived her husband for over twenty years,² and died during her elder son's military service in Holland. One desires to know somewhat of the mother of so famous a son. But inquiry is baffled. She acted as his guardian or 'tutrix' during his minority, and her signature proclaims her one whose education was exceptional in an unrefined age.³

The children of William and Lady Magdalene Graham numbered two sons and two daughters. John, the elder son, though possibly not the eldest child, carried the family's renown to its zenith. David, the younger son, closely associated with his brother's military service, succeeded him as the third holder of a forfeited title, and died unmarried.⁴ Of the daughters, the younger, Anne

¹ Their marriage contract is dated 7th, 15th, and 24th February 1645 (Fraser, *Carnegies of Southesk*, vol. ii. p. 357). Lady Jean Carnegie, whom Napier, Mowbray Morris, and the author of *The Despot's Champion* give as the Viscount of Dundee's mother, was in fact his maternal aunt. It is a coincidence that both the Viscount's mother and Montrose's wife were named Magdalene Carnegie. The former, as Sir William Fraser suggests, was named Magdalene after her mother, Magdalene Halyburton.

² On 5th October 1675 James Graham, chamberlain of the Claverhouse family, acknowledges the receipt from David, Earl of Northesk, of the following articles belonging to the late Lady Magdalene Graham of Claverhouse: 'Ane embroydered purs, quhairin ther is ane pear of gold braccelleits, ane gold ring, in it a litell diamond, another smal ring of litell worth, an litell hinger sett about with stons and sum rubies, wherof it leaks on ston, and hath an litell pearll; which things did belong to the leat Lady of Claverhous, and was giuin to the Earl of Ethie in custody, with consent of the sed Laird of Claverhous his freinds. Butt it is to be remembred, that ther is yitt in the custody of the sed nobell Earl an portugall doucott, ane ear whoop, with ane peic of monnij wyghting thrie rix dollors' (Fraser, *Carnegies of Southesk*, vol. ii. p. 358).

It may be noticed that Lady Magdalene Graham died nine years before her son the Viscount of Dundee's marriage. The legend of her solemn imprecation upon her daughter-in-law's second nuptials is demonstrably false, therefore, on the simple test of dates. For the legend, see *The Despot's Champion*, p. 162.

³ The *Duntrune MSS.* are my authority for both statements.

⁴ The suggestion that he and his brother the Viscount were twins is disproved by the fact that in a disposition by Lady Magdalene Graham, dated 2nd April 1653, in favour of her son John Graham, the latter is described as 'John Graham, my eldest son' (*Duntrune MSS.*).

Graham, married Robert Young of Auldbar,¹ who helped to fill his brother-in-law's purse in the lean days before Killiecrankie. The elder sister, Magdalene Graham, married Sir Robert Graham of Morphie.² The Grahams of Morphie were an offshoot of the old Fintry stock,³ whose Stirlingshire stronghold, Graham or Fintry Castle, stood on the bank of Endrick Water. The Youngs had risen to be landed proprietors from the ranks of the well-to-do merchants of Dundee.⁴

Like his grandfather, William Graham played a part, though briefly, in the stirring public drama of his time. Thrice he was appointed upon the Committee of War for Angus.⁵ On 9th March 1649 his name is found among others to be mulcted in one half-year's rent, upon the ground that 'dyverse persones . . . have not lent any money to the publict in the tyme of the Troubles,' and that 'dyverse of them who have not lent, have beene for the late engagement.'⁶ William Graham was in that category. His heart was with Hamilton at Preston, as it surely was with his kinsman Montrose, though he left it to his more daring son to convert passive sympathy into active endeavour.

Early in 1653, or late in 1652, William Graham died.⁷ During his lairdship he had watched, aloofly, many stirring

¹ *General Register of Sasines*, xvi. 43, 64.

² *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), vol. xxxv., 28th Sept. 1674; *Gen. Reg. of Inhibitions*, 8th Dec. 1673.

³ Father Richard Augustine Hay in his MS. (Advocates' Library), vol. iii. fol. 55, has a notice of the Morphie Grahams, whom he describes as 'descended of Fintre.'

⁴ *The Despot's Champion*, p. 8. The author inaccurately gives Claverhouse another sister.

⁵ *Acts. Parl. Scot.*, vol. vi. pt. i. pp. 560, 814; vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 709.

⁷ His son, John Graham of Claverhouse, was served general heir to his father on 3rd February 1653 (*Abbreviate of Retours, General*, vol. xxi. 77). Every endeavour to establish the precise date of William Graham's death has been defeated.

events. He had shared the feelings of dismay which the execution of Charles the First had aroused. He had followed the second Charles's insincere coquettings with the Covenant. Dunbar and Worcester were within his experience. The execution of Montrose in 1650 had been to him the loss of both kinsman and patriot. Cromwell's armies he had seen surging through the land. From his home he could have looked upon Monck's English lines round Dundee in 1651.¹ He had seen, too, the sacrifice of Scottish independence, his country merged into the English Commonwealth, her institutions shattered. He died in hopeless days, when no faint hope of a Restoration had arisen, with no prevision of a second Stewart catastrophe, over whose dark record his famous son shed a lustre, meteoric yet abiding.

It is symptomatic of the curious *lacunæ* in the career of one so famous, that the date of John Graham of Claverhouse's birth has remained a matter rather for ingenious calculation than for precise and convincing statement. A lawsuit in which Claverhouse was involved in June 1687 has furnished the dry bones of the problem.² Briefly, it proves that for seventeen of the forty years preceding June 1687 Claverhouse was a minor.³ Napier, hastily concluding that he was a minor during the first seventeen years after 1647, placed his birth in 1643.⁴ But in regard to the interests involved in the lawsuit Claverhouse's minority dated only from his father's

¹ There was a residence of some sort upon the Claverhouse property, as there was also at Ballargus, but from 1640 everything points to Glenogilvie as the residence of William Graham, and that of his widow and children. See below, Chap. vii.

² The case is reported in Fountainhall, *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, vol. ii. pp. 798, 811.

³ Fountainhall's statement is: 'As for Claveris, he was 17 years of this 40 [1647-87] a minor.'

⁴ Napier, vol. i. pp. 178, 183; vol. ii. p. 2. Mr. Mowbray Morris, following Napier, animadvertes upon the significance of the birth of Claverhouse in the year of the Solemn League and Covenant.

death.¹ If he was for seventeen years a minor after that event, it follows that he must have completed his fourth year before it. As he was served heir to his father on 3rd February 1653, he must have been born before 3rd February 1649. One can be more precise, however. On 24th June 1669 Claverhouse was removed from the Commission of the Peace for Forfarshire on the ground that he was a minor.² But on 5th August 1669 he had a precept for infefting him as his father's heir in the lands of Easter Brigton.³ These lands were held ward of James, Marquis of Douglas, and Claverhouse's entry implies that he was then of age.⁴ With a narrow margin on either side, Claverhouse's birth may be placed in July 1648.⁵

To picture the record of a career where authentic facts are wanting is fascinating but futile. In regard to Claverhouse there is barely a fact ascertainable to lighten the darkness which veils his youthful days. His infant memory may have retained some faint impressions of his kinsman Montrose's death. His father's son can hardly have been allowed to be ignorant of Worcester fight, its import to the cause of Monarchy and to the royal House. But these are conjectures. He was not

¹ Napier's error was first pointed out in *The Despot's Champion*, p. 7.

² *Privy Council Acta* (MS. Register House), vol. Nov. 1667—June 1673, fol. 227.

³ *Scrymgeour-Wedderburn Charter Chest*, Box vii. bundle i. No. 25.

⁴ Mr. Maitland Thomson, to whom I owe this information, informs me that the retour upon which the precept must have proceeded is not in the Register of Retours. If discovered, it would help materially to define the precise date of Claverhouse's birth.

⁵ The conclusion is materially strengthened by the fact that Claverhouse, who on 24th June 1669 had been removed from the Commission of the Peace for Forfarshire as being a minor, was on 2nd September 1669 reinstated upon it (*Privy Council Acta* (MS. Register House), vol. Nov. 1667—June 1673, fol. 261). It may be noticed also that on 14th July 1662 the ward of the Claverhouse lands was granted to David, Lord Lour. The date coincides with the completion of Claverhouse's pupillage upon attaining his fourteenth year.

five years old when he was projected prematurely into a domain of interests not bounded by his nursery walls. On 3rd February 1653 he was served general heir to his father,¹ and entered into possession of an estate which, if not of considerable value, represented a fair competence to its owner. He held it for something more than thirty-six years.²

Appropriately, the first glimpse of him beyond the bounds of his home life connects him with the town whence came his title. On 22nd September 1660, soon after his twelfth birthday, Claverhouse and his brother David were admitted burgesses and guild-brethren of Dundee.³ In the time to come the town received the elder brother less willingly as Provost. But their future chief-magistrate and Constable was not yet discernible in the almost effeminately pretty child, with frank, questioning eyes, whom his unsuspecting brother burgesses admitted to their ranks. Two years later, in July 1662, coincident with his fourteenth birthday, Claverhouse was placed under the ward of his uncle David, Lord Lour, afterwards second Earl of Northesk.⁴ His emancipation from petti-

¹ '1653. Feb. 3. John Grahame of Claverhouse as heir in general to William G. of Claverhouse his Father' (*Abbreviate of Retours, General* (MS. Register House), vol. xxi. 77).

² After Claverhouse's death in 1689, a statement by David Graham of Duntrune gives the gross income of his estate as £7739, 18s. 4d. *Scots*, on which Lady Dundee held a jointure of £3333, 6s. 8d. *Scots* (*Duntrune MSS.*). The statement tallies with another valuation of it in 1679 as producing a rental of upwards of £600 sterling (*Fraser, Red Book of Menteith*, vol. i. p. 422).

³ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses of Dundee*, p. 166. Their admission is stated as 'by reason of their Father's Privelege.' But William Graham's name is not on the Burgess Roll.

⁴ In the *Privy Seal, English Register* (MS. Register House), vol. i. 111, there is entered, under the date 14th July 1662, the gift to David, Lord Lour, of the ward of the lands which belonged to the deceased William Graham of Claverhouse, with the marriage of John Graham, now of Claverhouse, son and heir of William. Upon the attainment of his fourteenth year Claverhouse ceased to be a 'pupil,' and was thenceforth free from the control of his 'tutrix.' The grantee of the marriage,

coat government was the climax to his first excursion into the wider world outside the policies of Glenogilvie.

At St. Andrews, as was natural, Claverhouse completed his education. But the accepted date of his matriculation¹ is demonstrably ridiculous. According to Napier,² he and his brother David matriculated at St. Leonard's College on 13th February 1665. The matriculation roll for that date does contain the names of 'Joannes Grahamus' and 'David Grahamus,' but it is the purest inference that they were the brothers.³ As to Claverhouse, the impossibility of the date is patent. Napier's failure to remark its incongruity is the more astonishing, in that on his own dating of Claverhouse's birth, the youth entered college in his twenty-second year! Though he was born five years later than Napier supposed, he would still be in his seventeenth year at the time of his matriculation in February 1665. At that age the average student of the seventeenth century had left the university behind him. Gilbert Burnet, Claverhouse's contemporary, has put it complacently on record: 'I was five years at the Colledge of New Aberdeen, and went thro the common methods of the Aristotelian Philosophy with no small applause, and passed Master of Arts some moneths

in this case Lord Lour, had the right to nominate his ward's wife and to levy the 'avall'; single if the ward married without leave, double if he rejected the nominee and married another.

¹ See Napier, vol. i. pp. 18, 179; vol. ii. p. 2; Mowbray Morris, *Claverhouse*, p. 3; *The Despot's Champion*, p. 9; and Mr. T. F. Henderson's article, 'John Graham of Claverhouse,' in the *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

² It is worthy of notice that James Browne, in his *History of the Highlands* (vol. ii. p. 124), a work published over twenty years before Napier's book, states, without giving his authority, that Claverhouse matriculated at St. Andrews in 1660, and left the university in 1670.

³ That the 'David Grahamus' of 13th February 1665 was Claverhouse's brother is, I think, eminently probable. If so, the university records show that he graduated M.A. on 25th July 1668. The 'Joannes Grahamus' of 1665 does not appear to have graduated. I am indebted to Mr. J. Maitland Anderson, Librarian of the University of St. Andrews, for my information upon this subject.

before I was fourteen.'¹ Burnet matriculated, in fact, one month before his tenth year! Jeremy Taylor was Perse scholar of Caius College, Cambridge, in 1628, in his fifteenth year.² Thomas Dempster, the author of *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in his tenth year.³ Claverhouse's entry into St. Andrews should be looked for, therefore, in the decade preceding 1665, the year which so far has been accepted as that of his matriculation.

In the ten years 1655-1664 the name John Graham appears once only in the Matriculation Roll of St. Andrews. It occurs on 29th February 1660, when John Graham and two others were admitted to the third year's class in St Salvator's College.⁴ They had entered the university at latest in 1658.⁵ In the autumn of 1658 Claverhouse had recently passed his tenth birthday. The year is appropriate. But a comparison of the signature of the John Graham of 1660 with that of Claverhouse places the matter practically beyond question.⁶ The conclusion is therefore insistent, that in the

¹ *Supplement to Burnet's History*, ed. H. C. Foxcroft, p. 454.

² *Dict. Nat. Biography*, vol. lv. p. 439.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xiv. p. 335.

⁴ The entry bears that on this date William Dundas, Patrick Robertson, and John Graham were admitted students in philosophy 'in Collegio Salvatoriano in 3tiam classem.'

⁵ Formal matriculation, at this period, was not compulsory. It seemed possible that John Graham might have migrated to St. Andrews from some other Scottish university. An examination of their Matriculation Rolls, however, reveals no John Graham as a first year's student in or about 1658. The inference is that his studies began, as they ended, at St. Andrews.

⁶ For comparison, the signature of 1660 is given with an authentic Claverhouse signature of 1676, taken from the *Grandtully Book*.

Joannes Graham
1660

J. Graham
1676

The significant point is the initial J intertwined in the capital G, almost

autumn of 1658, soon after the completion of his tenth year, Claverhouse entered St. Andrews, and that on 29th February 1660 he was enrolled a third year's philosophy student in St. Salvator's College.¹ If so, his university record can be completed. On 27th July 1661 he graduated Master of Arts.² He was just entering his fourteenth year.

Whether, like Gilbert Burnet, Claverhouse fulfilled his university course 'with no small applause' is a matter upon which there is little satisfactory evidence. Like old Alexander Leslie, who died in the year which saw Claverhouse's emancipation from the university, he has been condemned as illiterate. 'I got the length of the letter G,' Leslie said once to an inquirer who was astonished at even that modest conquest of the alphabet.³ But Claverhouse had at least reached the average university standard of his contemporaries. The test of spelling on which Scott found him wanting is, after all, misleading. Claverhouse spelled with rare originality, it is true, but so did many of

invariably found in Claverhouse's signature. It will be noticed that in the signature of 1660 the same feature is apparent, as though the writer were unaccustomed to write his Christian name in full, and had, on this occasion, failed to observe that he had done so.

¹ There is a further fact, for which I am indebted to Mr. Maitland Anderson, which deserves mention. At this time the students at St. Andrews were divided into three groups, according to their rank and fee-paying ability. They were classed as *Potentiores*, *Potentes*, and *Minus Potentes*. In the Faculty Quæstor's Book, the John Graham of 1658 is classed among the *Potentes*; the John Graham of 1665 among the *Potentiores*. The latter, in the same record, appears as having paid his B.A. fee in 1667, and thereafter he disappears. Either he failed to complete his curriculum, or having completed it, failed to proceed to his M.A. degree. One would expect to find Claverhouse among the *Potentiores* rather than the *Potentes*, and the fact that the John Graham of 1665 was in that category is the only shred of evidence to identify him with Claverhouse.

² Mr. J. Maitland Anderson informs me that the fellow-graduates of John Graham on 27th July 1661 were William Dundas, Patrick Robertson, and a David Graham who had matriculated in 1658.

³ Terry, *Life of Alexander Leslie*, p. 12.

his contemporaries, even among the learned professions.¹ Orthography and accurate spelling, in point of fact, were hardly yet polite accomplishments. Some indications, of no particular value, reach us of the subjects which claimed his interest. 'He had made,' writes Drummond of Balhaldy,² 'a considerable progress in the Mathematics, especially in those parts of it that related to his military capacity; and there was no part of the Belles Lettres which he had not studied with great care and exactness. He was much master in the epistolary way of writeing; for he not onely expressed himself with great ease and plaineness, but argued well, and had a great art in giving his thoughts in few words.' Balhaldy's praise of Claverhouse's letters is not misjudged. They are vigorous, practical, and direct, the expression of a clear and masterful mind. They have their flashes of humour, embellishments of apt classical quotation, and are sufficient, if all other evidence were wanting, to proclaim him a man of some information and of rare practical ability. The author of the *Memoirs* of 1714, distinguishing those characteristics on which Balhaldy remarks, describes Claverhouse as the possessor of 'a liberal education in humanity, and the mathematicks, in which he made a very considerable progress.'³ The Rev. Thomas Morer, adding a curious, and probably apocryphal, detail to

¹ Mr. Mowbray Morris (*Claverhouse*, p. 6) instances, particularly, Sir George Mackenzie and the Dalrymples.

² *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell*, p. 279. Elsewhere (p. 273) Balhaldy says that Claverhouse 'had an education suitable to his birth and genius.'

³ *Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee*, 1714, ed. Henry Jenner, p. 3. Mr. Jenner conjecturally attributes the authorship of the *Memoirs* to the Rev. Charles Leslie, who in 1714 was a member of the Chevalier de St. George's household at Bar-le-Duc. Lord Macaulay dismissed the work as the production of 'a stupid and ignorant Grub Street garreteer.' (See Macaulay's *Works*, ed. 1866, vol. iii. p. 66 note.) The *Memoirs* are patently full of errors, but I am inclined to hold that their value is greater than that Macaulay attached to them.

the sum of Claverhouse's experiences at St. Andrews, states that 'in his Minority' there, 'he was admired for his Parts and Respects to Church-men, which made him dear to the Arch-Bishop of that See, who ever after honour'd and lov'd him.'¹ Sir John Dalrymple, who was born considerably over a generation after Claverhouse's death, and whose *Memoirs* were given to the world nearly a century after that event, follows tradition rather than fact when he declares that 'Dundee had inflamed his mind from his earliest youth by the perusal of antient poets, historians, and orators, with the love of the great actions they praise and describe. He is reported to have inflamed it still more, by listening to the antient songs of the highland bards.'² The legend of Claverhouse's interest in Gaelic literature grew out of the event in his career which colours the whole of it—his leadership of the Clans and the devotion he inspired among them. That he did not understand the language of those he led at Killiecrankie is more than improbable.³

¹ *A Short Account of Scotland*, p. 95. The author, whose work was published in 1702, describes it as the outcome of his experiences with his regiment in Scotland in 1689. He was chaplain to the Queen's Regiment of Horse (now the 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards) in June 1685. The regiment served at Sedgemoor, and Morer was still upon the roll of it in November 1687. Sir John Lanier was its colonel, and Morer no doubt accompanied it when it was summoned to Scotland at the time of the Revolution. See Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 121.

² *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. part ii. p. 46.

³ The following statement is found in *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland* (No. 77, p. 172), under the date 3rd December 1689: 'That which gave the late Viscount of Dundee so much credit with, and authority over them, tho he understood not their Language, nor was of their Country, was his Name and Relation to the great Marquis of Montross; for whose memory those Highlanders have all imaginable respect and veneration, and believe that Fortune and Success was entail'd on that Name of Graham.' This appreciation is introduced by way of comment upon Cannon's failure to lead the Highlanders after Dundee's death. Balhaldy, who drew upon a valuable fund of Highland tradition, gives no ground for believing that Claverhouse understood Gaelic, though on one occasion he attributes to him the employment of a

From his graduation at St. Andrews to the year of his majority there is no record of Claverhouse and his actions.¹ During those eight years, it may be assumed, he remained at Glenogilvie, and viewed the opening of the drama in which he was later to play a leading part. The Pentland Rising was already suppressed at Rullion Green (28th November 1666) before the fencible men of Angus, whom the Council on 21st November 1666² ordered to mobilise, could take the field.³ Claverhouse's first appointment in the public service came three years later. On 11th February 1669 he was appointed a Commissioner of Excise and Justice of the Peace for Forfarshire;⁴ but on 24th June 1669 his commission was withdrawn upon the ground that he was still a minor.⁵ On 2nd September 1669, having attained his majority in the interval, the cancelled commission was restored.⁶ For the next two years his life was seemingly spent upon his property and in the conduct of county affairs.⁷

So far Claverhouse's interests and activities had been exclusively parochial. He had, however, the example of

Gaelic phrase. Prince Charles in the '45, it may be remembered, got a good deal more out of the Clans than Claverhouse, and upon an equally slender linguistic equipment.

¹ Among the *Duntrune MSS.* there is a discharge by the Laird of Balmamoon in favour of Claverhouse. It is dated at Leith on 2nd August 1662, and is signed by Claverhouse.

² Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 21.

³ It is improbable that Claverhouse joined one of the six troops of horse which were raised at this crisis. See Kirkton, *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 225; Wodrow, *History*, vol. ii. p. 13.

⁴ *Privy Council Acta* (MS. Register House), vol. Nov. 1667—June 1673, fol. 187.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 227.

⁶ *Privy Council Acta*, *ibid.*, fol. 261.

⁷ On 6th April 1671 the Council appointed a number of new justices for Forfarshire in the room of persons whose names are mentioned. Claverhouse's name does not appear, and it is a fair inference that at that time he was still in Scotland, fulfilling the duties entailed upon him by his commission of September 1669. The Council's letter of 6th April 1671 is in *Privy Council Acta*, fol. 478.

his kinsman Montrose, and of his direct ancestors, to tempt him to the Continent to learn the art of war under the great captains of the age. In 1672¹ his brief service with foreign armies probably commenced. That his first military experience was gained in the service of France is stated too emphatically by the earliest authorities to admit of question. Balhaldy asserts that Claverhouse 'travelled into France for his further improvement,' and served 'several years' as 'a volunteer in the French army.'² The *Memoirs* of 1714 also declare him to have 'spent some time in the French service as a volunteer, with great reputation and applause.'³ James Philip, his companion in the campaign of 1689, in a passage rhetorical rather than of literal accuracy, pictures him on the Loire and Seine sharing the triumphs of the French arms.⁴

¹ Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe assumed that Claverhouse finished his college course at St. Andrews in May 1668—nearly seven years beyond the actual date—and that he proceeded to France soon after. He takes him to Holland in 1672, two years before the actual date (Napier, vol. i. p. 179). Mowbray Morris gives the date 1668 as that in which 'Claverhouse is said to have left Scotland for France' (*Claverhouse*, p. 8). From page 13 above, it appears clearly that Claverhouse cannot have left Scotland before April 1671. A thorough search among the deeds in the Register House has failed to give any clue to the date of Claverhouse's departure from Scotland.

² *Memoirs of Locheill*, p. 273.

³ *Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee*, ed. Henry Jenner, p. 3.

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 41. The passage is as follows:—

'quem Gallica castra
Ad Ligerim, celsas tollit qua Aurelia turres,
Sequana Parisiam quaque auctior alluit urbem,
Hostibus eversis toties videre superbum,
Saepius et saevi respersum sanguine belli.'

Canon Murdoch pertinently remarks on the passage, that Claverhouse could not possibly have seen any active service on the Seine and Loire. He suggests that the 'Gallica castra' were probably camps of instruction. It should be noticed, however, that the earliest published reference to Claverhouse's career is silent regarding his French service. In January 1683 an unknown writer, 'W. J.,' dedicated 'The Muses New Yeares Gift and Hansell to the Right Honored Captane John Grahame of Claver-

Since the formation of the Triple Alliance in 1668 and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had closed the War of Devolution, Louis the Fourteenth had been patiently preparing to avenge upon the Dutch the check he had received. In 1670 the secret Treaty of Dover gained him Charles the Second's adhesion, and in 1672 several British regiments were raised for service on the French establishment. Among them were the Duke of Monmouth's 'Royal English,' Bevil Skelton's 'New Royal English,' and the Earl of Roscommon's regiments.¹ It is improbable that Claverhouse sought a commission in any of them. Nor was it necessary to look beyond his own country for the opportunity for employment. Lord George Douglas's Scottish Regiment (1st Foot) was in the service of France throughout the greater part of Charles the Second's reign,² and in the early part of 1673 was busily recruiting in Scotland.³ In the summer of 1672 Sir William Lockhart's regiment was similarly employed.⁴ It was probably in one or other of these Scottish regiments that Claverhouse served from 1672 to 1674. One is tempted to identify him with the John Graham who, on 25th July

howse.' It is printed in Laing (*Fugitive Scottish Poetry*), and has these lines :—

'Himselſe does venter oer the Lyons coast,
Vnto the Allays camp he does resort.'

The lines suggest, with their context, that Claverhouse proceeded from Scotland, and not from France, to William's service in Holland. Morer (*Short Account of Scotland*) makes no mention of Claverhouse's French service.

¹ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. i. p. xvi.

² *Ibid.*, p. xv.

³ On 12th March 1673 the Privy Council made an Order as to recruiting in Scotland for Lord George Douglas's regiment, and on 1st April 1673 the Earl of Linlithgow was empowered to issue passes for those who should take service in it. (*Privy Council Acta* (MS. Register House), vol. Nov. 1667—June 1673, fol. 691, 693.)

⁴ On 29th August 1672 the Privy Council gives directions regarding recruiting for Lockhart's regiment (*Privy Council Acta* (MS. Register House), vol. Nov. 1667—June 1673, fol. 638.)

1672, was commissioned junior lieutenant in Lockhart's regiment.¹ In any case he was under the general command of the Duke of Monmouth,² and began a military association which was resumed seven years later in Scotland.

It would be idle to attempt to construct the record of Claverhouse's French service in the absence of even the vaguest information as to his doings. He followed, though he may not have taken part in it, the bewilderingly rapid advance of the French army across the Rhine in June 1672, an exploit which Louis's contemporaries lauded as stupendous, and Napoleon slighted as 'opération de quatrième ordre.' The fall of John de Witt, the triumph of William of Orange, his heroic patriotism, and the withdrawal of the French troops from Holland in the winter of 1672-73, may have come more immediately within the range of Claverhouse's experiences. If he was attached to Lockhart's regiment, it is probable that he was engaged in the siege of Maastricht in 1673.³ His service in France cannot have extended far beyond that event. In February 1674, Charles the Second, yielding tardily to the pressure of public opinion, withdrew from his alliance with France. Monmouth returned to England. John Churchill, the future Duke of Marlborough, also

¹ The name 'John Grahame' appears under this rank in Dalton (*English Army Lists*, vol. i. p. 121). Inquiries at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Nationales, and the Ministère de la Guerre, in Paris, have failed to elicit any information regarding Claverhouse's French service. I am informed by the French Ministry of War that no regimental rolls or pay-sheets exist for the foreign regiments in the French service in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth.

² Monmouth, whose regiment was raised on 15th February 1672, was, on 29th January 1673, created 'général de tous les sujets du roi d'Angleterre qui estoient ou qui viendroient en France.' On 20th May 1673 he was appointed 'lieutenant-général des armées du roi.' He returned to England in 1674. (Fieffé, *Histoire des Troupes Étrangères au Service de France*, p. 175.)

³ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. i. p. 121.

came home to be appointed Colonel of the Second Foot.¹ Others, like Hugh Mackay of Scourie, Claverhouse's opponent at Killiecrankie, drifted into the service of the United Netherlands.² Claverhouse also found his way to Holland, but whether directly from France or after a brief visit to Scotland cannot be determined.³ By July 1674, he had entered the service of the Prince against whom he had been so recently fighting. He lived to revert to the earlier antagonism.

¹ Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, vol. i. p. 297.

² Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 470. He had been serving as captain in the Royal Scots Regiment in France.

³ Mr. Fortescue states that out of the troops disbanded, three English regiments were formed for the service of the Prince of Orange. He adds that among their officers was John Graham of Claverhouse (see *History of the British Army*, vol. i. p. 297). Mr. Fortescue is in error. Major John Bernardi, in his *Short History* (p. 17), describes these English troops as consisting of ten companies, who from Bois-le-Duc joined William at Grave after the battle of Seneffe. He mentions their officers, among them Hugh Mackay of Scourie, 'a Scotch Gentleman very large in his Person, and afterwards advanced to Greatness in Station.' He does not mention Claverhouse, though he particularly gives the names of 'those who afterwards were rais'd to great Stations.' It may also be noticed, that whereas this Bois-le-Duc contingent joined William shortly before the siege of Grave in September or October 1674, Claverhouse was already serving in William's army in July 1674, and was present at Seneffe.

CHAPTER II

SERVICE IN HOLLAND, 1674-1677

CLAVERHOUSE can hardly have been absent from Lockhart of Carnwath's patriotic retrospect when, a quarter of a century after Dundee's death, he wrote of his countrymen: 'Those of Rank (as they still do) travelled Abroad into foreign Countries for their Improvement, and vast numbers, when their Country at home did not require their Service, went into that of forreign Princes, from whence, after they had gained immortal Honour and Glory, they returned home.'¹ The armies which Alexander Leslie led in the Bishops' Wars and under the banner of the Solemn League and Covenant had swarmed with veterans, whose training had been in the camp of Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish Lion of the North had passed to his rest; but France and Holland still invited the activities of the Scot abroad. Condé and Turenne offered a training under the Napoleons of that age. Holland, whose forces had long since been stiffened by the Scottish Brigade in her service, furnished an employment and a cause alike congenial. Claverhouse impartially availed himself of both opportunities for experience in his chosen profession.

At the close of July 1674 William's army lay round Nivelles in Brabant. Condé was entrenched to the south of him, behind the Piéton, not far from Charleroi.² A

¹ *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 387.

² *The Netherland-Historian*, Amsterdam, 1675, p. 499.

number of English volunteers had already joined William's own Company of Guards. Among them were David Colyear, afterwards first Earl of Portmore, and the young Laird of Claverhouse.¹

The Dutch war had considerably changed its character at the moment when Claverhouse transferred himself from the one side to the other in it. England was no longer active, but neutral. Among her allies Holland counted the Emperor Leopold, the Great Elector, the Kings of Spain and Denmark, and the Dukes of Brunswick and Hesse. The campaign of 1674 opened with the invasion of Franche-Comté, conducted by the Duc de Navailles with the brilliancy which had marked Condé's campaign in 1668. Condé was elsewhere, watching the movement of the confederate army in Brabant, and ready, as he proved at Seneffe, to strike when the opportunity arrived.²

Condé meanwhile remaining obstinately behind his trenches, William resolved to advance towards Binche, designing to cut off Condé's supplies from that quarter, and haply to draw him out to battle. On 9th August 1674 he broke up his camp about Nivelles, lay at Seneffe on 10th August, and on the following day (11th August), two hours before daylight, marched from Seneffe to take position between Binche and Mariemont. The imperial troops led the van; the Dutch were in the centre; the Spaniards brought up the rear.³ Claverhouse and his fellow-volunteers naturally accompanied the Prince. A

¹ Carleton, *Memoirs*, pp. 12, 13. Carleton enumerates them as follows: 'Clavers, who since was better known by the Title of Lord Dundee; Mr. Collier, now [1728] Lord Portmore; Mr. Rooke, since Major-General; Mr. Hales, who lately died, and was for a long time Governor of Chelsea Hospital; Mr. Venner, Son of that Venner remarkable for his being one of the Fifth-Monarchy Men; and Mr. Boyce. The four first rose to be very eminent; but Fortune is not to all alike favourable.'

² See Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, tom. vi. p. 114.

³ *The Netherland-Historian*, p. 499; Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 13.

special baggage-wagon carried their effects.¹ Towards midday² on 11th August Condé fell suddenly upon William's Spanish rearguard.³ He routed it after 'a long and sharp Dispute,' and threw himself upon the baggage-train between William's Dutch troops and the Spaniards. Confusion followed his onslaught. The baggage-wagons drove madly for safety, or were captured. Carleton lost 'every Thing but Life.' Claverhouse was in no better plight. Late at night Condé called off the attack, leaving 'lighted Matches hanging in the Hedges, and waving with the Air, to conceal it [his retreat] from the Confederate Army.'⁴

In Claverhouse's career, the battle of Seneffe has a particular interest. The earliest reference to his conduct

¹ Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 13.

² Sir Richard Bulstrode reports to the Earl of Arlington that Condé's attack was described by fugitives as having taken place 'upon Saturday about Eleven at Noon' (*Original Letters*, p. 88).

³ Major John Bernardi (*Life*, p. 15), who was in the engagement, gives the following account of it: 'Condé, who lay with the French Army at no great Distance, made an expeditious Detachment of Twenty Thousand Men or upwards, and attack'd the Rear of the Dutch Army upon their March; his Highness was soon in Action himself, but the Front and Rear of his Army being at a League and a half distance, it was impossible to bring the advanced Part to the Assistance of the Rear, Time enough to save the Baggage, most of which was lost. Some Thousands of Men being kill'd on both sides, the French march'd off in as much Haste as they came on, it being near Night, and the Dutch Army having had a long and wet March that Day, made it impracticable to pursue the Enemy, his Highness contenting himself with Encamping on his design'd Ground, near the Field of Battle.'

⁴ Carleton, *Memoirs*, pp. 14-16. Claverhouse's experience may be inferred from Carleton's statement: 'The English Volunteers had their Share of this ill Fortune with the rest; their Waggon appointed them being among those intercepted by the Enemy; and I, for my Part, lost every Thing but Life . . . The Baggage, as I have said, being cut off, and at the Mercy of the Enemy, every one endeavour'd to escape through, or over the Hedges . . . for they were all cut to Pieces that could not get over.' On the day following the battle a number of baggage-wagons arrived at Brussels from the army, among them one of Sir Walter Vane's and two of Lord Clare's. Nine of Vane's wagons had fallen to the enemy (Bulstrode, *Original Letters*, p. 88). For the ruse under which Condé drew off his army, see Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 85.

in it is in an ode addressed to him by an anonymous admirer in January 1683,¹ which describes his prowess in general but laudatory terms. The lines run thus:—

‘I saw the man who at St. Neff did sie
His conduct, prowess, martiall gallantrie.
He wore a white plumash that day, not on
Of Belgians wore a white but him alone.’

Eight years later, Philip of Almerieclose, whose manuscript is dated 1691, adds an embellishment to the story, in Claverhouse’s soliloquy:—

‘Nonne ego cum lasso per Belgica stagna caballo
Agmina liligeri fugeres victricia Galli,
Ipee mei impositum dorso salientis equi te
Hostibus eripui, salvumque in castra reduxi?’²

Philip’s statement, categorical as to the nature of the service rendered to William, is indefinite as to the occasion of it. Twenty-three years later, in the *Memoirs* of 1714, Claverhouse’s rescue of William is for the first time attached to Seneffe: ‘At the battle of St. Nuff, 1674, when the Prince of Orange was dismounted, and in great danger of being taken, he [Claverhouse] rescued him, and brought him off upon his own horse.’³ Balhaldy’s *Memoirs of Locheill*⁴ and Dalrymple⁵ repeat the statement.⁶

¹ ‘The Muses New Yeares Gift and Hansell, to the Right Honored Captane John Graham of Claverhowse, January 1683,’ in Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry; principally of the Seventeenth Century*.

² *Grameid*, p. 202. Canon Murdoch gives the following translation: ‘Did not I, when thou [William of Orange] fleddest on wearied steed through Belgic marsh from the conquering troops of lily-bearing France—did not I myself snatch thee from the enemy, and mount thee on the back of my fresh steed, and restore thee safe to the camp?’

³ *Memoirs of Dundee*, ed. Jenner, p. 3.

⁴ *Memoirs of Locheill*, p. 274. The *Memoirs* were completed by 1737.

⁵ *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 46.

⁶ Napier (vol. i. p. 10) states quite inaccurately that the *Grameid* confirms the *Memoirs* of 1714. The former, as has already been pointed out, does not mention Seneffe. The author of *The Despot’s Champion*, p. 18, discusses the point with characteristic care, and is inclined to hold that ‘William’s momentary peril and rescue . . . may have occurred at any other conjuncture during the three years spent by Clavers in Holland.’

In every tradition there is probably a substratum of truth, and in the present case it is to be found in the ode of 1683 and the *Grameid*, rather than in Balhaldy and the *Memoirs* of 1714. Had Claverhouse's rescue of William occurred at Seneffe, it is inconceivable that his panegyrists, writing in 1683 and 1691, should have failed to attach it to that battle. The less contemporary statements of Balhaldy and of the *Memoirs* are therefore, apart from other disproving evidence, under suspicion as the sum of two facts true in themselves, but as a compound-fact inaccurate. That conclusion is strengthened by subjecting the story to another test. Had William at Seneffe been in such peril as Balhaldy and the *Memoirs* of 1714 declare, it is incredible that some record of it should have failed to appear in contemporary accounts of the battle. Evidence is not wanting, that William's bravery, or the sudden onslaught of the enemy, placed him in a position of jeopardy.¹ But neither among the Dutch traditions nor in their records is there a shred of evidence to support the necessity for Claverhouse's opportune rescue of him.²

The facts of the case suggest themselves as follows: That Claverhouse fought at Seneffe is established, though

¹ 'The Prince of Orange, whose Valour and Vigour having led him into the Middle of the Enemy, and being then sensible of his Error, by a Peculiar Presence of Mind, gave the Word of Command in French, which he spoke perfectly well. But the French Soldiers, who took him for one of their own Generals, making Answer, that their Powder was all spent, it afforded Matter of Instruction to him to persist in his Attack ; at the same Time, that it gave him a Lesson of Caution, to withdraw himself, as soon as he could, to his own Troops' (Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 18).

In *The Netherland-Historian* (p. 505) it is admitted, that 'perhaps his [William's] zeal might have carryed him to farre.' William's despatch, describing the battle, is silent upon any particular danger to which he himself had been exposed. It is printed in *The Netherland-Historian*, pp. 505-9.

² I am indebted to the Assistant Keeper of the State Archives at the Hague for having verified my conclusions upon this point. There is no record whatever of Claverhouse in the Dutch Archives before 24th November 1676.

the distinction attributed to him in the ode of 1683 is barely substantiated. That in the course of his Dutch campaigns he rendered some service to William which, in his own mind, constituted a claim upon the Prince may also be allowed. That the nature of the obligation under which William lay to him was as the *Grameid* states it, must also be granted. Philip, who bivouacked with Claverhouse round many camp fires in 1689, must have had the story from his hero's mouth; and Claverhouse was too strong a man to play the braggart. But that it happened at Seneffe, and inspired, since it was unrequited, Claverhouse's withdrawal from William's service, must be dismissed as the *addenda* of a later period. Macaulay's scepticism stands fully justified.¹

From Seneffe William fell back south-westward to Quaregnon and St. Ghislain. There he encamped, awaiting supplies from Brussels. On 31st August 1674, the necessary equipment having reached him, William

¹ 'About the early relation between William and Dundee some Jacobite [in the *Memoirs* of 1714], many years after they were both dead, invented a story which by successive embellishments was at last improved into a romance, which it seems strange that even a child should believe to be true. The last edition [in Balhaldy's *Memoirs of Lockeill*] runs thus: William's horse was killed under him [Balhaldy does not say so] at Seneff, and his life was in imminent danger. Dundee, then Captain Graham [a statement wholly inaccurate], mounted His Highness again. William promised to reward this service with promotion, but broke his word, and gave to another the commission which Graham had been led to expect.' Macaulay proceeds to detail Balhaldy's account of Claverhouse's withdrawal from William's service, though he dates the event inaccurately in 1674 instead of 1677, and concludes: 'This legend, of which I have not been able to discover the slightest trace in the voluminous Jacobite literature of William's reign, seems to have originated about a quarter of a century after Dundee's death [i.e. in the *Memoirs* of 1714], and to have attained its full absurdity in another quarter of a century [i.e. in Balhaldy].' See Macaulay, *Works*, ed. 1855, vol. iii. p. 289.

Napier and later biographers of Claverhouse have attempted to controvert Macaulay by stating that authority contemporary with Claverhouse supports the authorities whom Macaulay impugned. So far as the Seneffe episode is concerned, I have shown that they do not, in fact, do so.

marched northward to lay siege to Ath. The garrison was opportunely reinforced, and William returned to his old quarters.¹ A fortnight later, on 14th September, his heavy siege-train having joined him, he marched to Oudenarde, and on 16th September invested it. On 21st September Condé appeared. William urged a general action while Condé's troops were fatigued by their rapid march. But failing to convince his allies of the wisdom of the proposal, he abandoned the siege, and leaving Waldeck in command at Ghent, whither his army retired, he rode on to Dendermonde with a guard of fifty men, of whom Claverhouse may have been one, with the intention of returning to Holland. William, in fact, faced the difficulties which confronted Marlborough in a later campaign over the same ground. Reflection convinced him that little was to be gained by irritability. On 27th September he returned to the camp at Ghent.² Thence he moved to the siege of Grave, on the Maas, which had been in progress throughout the summer. On 28th October the town capitulated, and by 9th November 1674 William had returned to the Hague on the conclusion of the campaign.³

The siege of Grave probably dated for Claverhouse

¹ *The Netherland-Historian*, pp. 515-16; Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 18. Carleton appears to have been encamped at Valenciennes between the battle of Seneffe and the advance to Ath. If so, Claverhouse was presumably there also.

² *The Netherland-Historian*, pp. 516-18.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 518, 527-28; Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 21. Before William marched from Ghent to the siege of Grave, 'his Highness having Notice that ten Companies of the English Subjects at Bois-le-Duc [s' Hertogenbosch] (but seven Leagues from the Grave) were compleat, well armed and fit for Service, sent them Orders to march and joyn the Army with all Expedition, which they performed in Two Days Time, and were in Two Days after commanded into the Trenches.' Bernardi, who enlisted in one of these companies, mentions among their captains, Sir Henry Bellasize, Captain Thomas Monk, Captain John Morgan, Captain Philip Savage, and Hugh Mackay of Scourie. He gives the date of the capitulation of Grave as 29th October (Bernardi, *Liège*, pp. 17, 20).

the commencement of a rivalry which Killiecrankie, fifteen years later, tardily adjusted. That Claverhouse ultimately left the Dutch service because his claims for promotion were inadequately recognised is stated by Balhaldy and by the *Memoirs* of 1714. That his complaint had reference to the preference shown to a particular rival is also the assertion of both. His rival, according to Balhaldy, was 'Mr. Collier, a son of the Earl of Portmore,' who disappointed Claverhouse of the command of one of the Scottish regiments in the Dutch service.¹ The *Memoirs* of 1714 do not mention the name of the officer whose promotion Claverhouse so highly resented, nor do they embroider the story with Balhaldy's picturesque detail, but the ground-fact, that Claverhouse withdrew from William's service because he failed to obtain the high command he sought, is identical.²

Balhaldy's story is interesting fiction. Macaulay dismissed it with the comment that the Palace of Loo, where Claverhouse's breach of discipline³ is said to have occurred, was not then built; and that the author of the

¹ His promotion is called the result of an 'intrigue,' and Balhaldy adds that Claverhouse, upon learning Colyear's appointment, gave him some blows with his cane' in the royal precincts. William sent for him and demanded an explanation. 'The Captain answered, that he was indeed in the wrong, since it was more his Highness his business to have resented that quarrel than his; because Mr. Collier had less injured him in disappointing him of the regiment, than he had done his Highness in making him breck his word. Then replied the Prince, in an angry tone, "I make yow full reparation, for I bestow on yow what is more valuable than a regiment, when I give yow your right arm!" The Captain subjoyned, that since his Highness had the goodness to give him his liberty, he resolved to employ himself elsewhere, for he would not serve a Prince longer that had brock his Word' (*Memoirs of Locheill*, p. 275).

² 'One of the Scotch regiments in Holland becoming vacant, his interest with the Court of England' [which so far was certainly non-existent], 'and the Prince of Orange's promises for services performed, encouraged him to stand candidate for the regiment, which a Dutch interest carried against him. He resented this affront so highly, as to leave the Dutch service, and return to Scotland 1677' (*Memoirs of Dundee*, ed. Jenner, p. 3).

³ See note ¹ above.

story appeared to be under the impression that the regulations against brawling within the royal precincts, under Henry the Eighth's statute, were equally valid in Holland.¹ Neither objection conclusively damns the story. Its disproof rests upon more direct evidence. According to Balhaldy, Claverhouse's Jacob was 'Mr. Collier, a son of the Earl of Portmore.' David Colyear, later the first Earl of Portmore, entered William's service with Claverhouse in July 1674. Yet Claverhouse's rival was this man's son! Assuming, however, that Balhaldy referred to David Colyear himself, disproof of his story is positive. David Colyear did not receive a lieutenant-colonelcy in William's service until 1683—five years after Claverhouse had left Holland!²

In another category is the tradition that Claverhouse's successful rival was his antagonist of later days, Hugh Mackay of Scourie.³ Mackay was in the Bois-le-Duc contingent summoned by William to the siege of Grave. In the course of the siege Sir William Ballantine, a lieutenant-colonel of the Scots Brigade, was killed,⁴ and on 19th March 1675 Mackay received the vacant commission.⁵ Two years later he obtained further promotion.⁶ Possibly on both occasions Claverhouse was Mackay's competitor. But that his rival's success inspired no personal rancour may be inferred from the fact that the *Grameid* has no

¹ Macaulay, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 289.

² For Colyear's commission, see Ferguson, *Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. i. p. 505. Obviously Claverhouse could not have placed himself in competition with Sir Alexander Colyear, the Prince's Scottish Adjutant-General. Sir Alexander, in 1675, was given the command of a new regiment formed at Bois-le-Duc (*ibid.*, vol. i. p. 473).

³ See Robert Mackay, *House and Clan of Mackay*, p. 388.

⁴ See Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 581.

⁵ His commission was dated from 12th October 1674 (Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 470).

⁶ See below, p. 29. Mr. Ferguson remarks: 'There seems no doubt that on one of these occasions the preference so sharply avenged at Killiecrankie took place' (*Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 471).

word upon it; though, had it existed, the relation of the two men in 1689 could hardly have failed to elicit it. Nor did the preference shown to Mackay impel Claverhouse to renounce the service of an ungrateful Prince. He did not withdraw from it until nearly three years after Mackay's first commission; until four months or more after the second. In the interval he even accepted a commission of lower rank than that to which he is asserted to have aspired.

The campaign of 1675 was indecisive. Limburg was besieged by the French, and William marched to its relief from his camp near Louvain. At Roermond he learned that the place had surrendered, and returned to Brabant.¹ The demolition of the walls of Maubeuge, Enghien, and Nivelles, completed the campaign.² At its conclusion, or in the course of it, Claverhouse returned to Scotland. He came home, it may be assumed, upon a summons to his mother's death-bed,³ and remained in Scotland until the spring of the following year. Early in March 1676 he was in Edinburgh, and thence he wrote to Thomas Steuart, younger of Grandtully:—

EDINBURGH, *March the 7, 1676.*

SIR,—I think no wonder that a poor lad like yow should prig thus for five pound with your good friend, who will may be never have the occasion to ask another favour of yow. Send but your horse here, and if he be wholl and sound, it shall not be so litell a business shall keep us from a bargon. Give orders to Jhon Steuart or Colin, to recave my obligation. If ther be any thing wher in I can serve you, either here or els wher, you know hou friely you may comand me. I have always been, and shall still be, as much as I really am,

Dear Sir, your most humble servant,

J. GRAHAME.

I have got four of the best grou hounds of Scotland now, and

¹ Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 22.

² Bernardi, *Life*, p. 23. He writes 'Newell,' which I take to be Nivelles.

³ See above, p. 3.

you be a good fellow you will send me a setting dogue, and then I would be a prince.¹

Horse and hound were sent to him. Claverhouse wrote again to young Grandtully a few days later to express his thanks for both,² and on 30th March 1676 he sailed for Holland.³ The chief incident of this year's campaign was the siege of Maastricht. On 1st July William invested the town. In response to their petition, he formed the English volunteers into a single brigade under Sir John Fenwick, and placed them in the lines next to his own Guards.⁴ Ten or twelve days passed before the arrival of William's heavy artillery. In the interval lines of circumvallation were thrown up. Trenches were then opened towards a detached fort called 'The Dauphin.'⁵ The latter operation was commenced upon 18th July, and the execution of it was entrusted to William's Guards and others, under the command of the Rhinegrave.⁶ At the end of July William's Guards, with other regiments, were ordered to assault 'The Dauphin,' and did so with the loss of three captains and other

¹ Fraser, *Red Book of Grandtully*, vol. ii. p. 229.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 230. The letter is undated.

³ On 4th April 1676, James Graham, Claverhouse's chamberlain, writes to young Grandtully from Dundee: 'The Laird off Claverhous hid his service presented to yow, and did intend till haw wreittin to yow himsellf, but was much strained with tym, for hie intended not till haw sailed till Munonday last, but was forced to seall upon Saterdag [30th March], and went a litell in heast. But I hop this day hie is in Holland. Sir, your hors giws him good satisfaction at present, and I hop the longer he keeps him the better. Sir, Claverhous commanded me to intreitt yow if ye culd help Colonell Graham with any men who wold go to Holland with him willingly, hie wold tak it as a fawor dun to himself. Hie [Colonel Graham] is heir for the present' (*Red Book of Grandtully*, vol. i. p. cxl).

⁴ William Carr, *A Particular Account of the Present Siege of Maastricht*, pp. 2, 3. The account is in the form of a letter, dated from the Hague on 5th September 1676, new style. Carr describes Fenwick's brigade as 'next his Highnesses own Guards on the Boss-port-side.'

⁵ Bernardi, *Life*, p. 29.

⁶ Carr, *A Particular Account*, etc., p. 4.

officers.¹ On 4th August the English brigade carried the bastion, and held it until the springing of three mines in the captured outwork threw the victors into confusion, and enabled the garrison to retake it.² The approach of the French compelled William to raise the siege, and on 28th August he withdrew.³ His losses had been enormous.⁴

To the wide gaps which the siege of Maastricht had made among the officers engaged in it, rather than to any exceptional services which he had so far rendered, Claverhouse probably owed his first promotion in William's service. On 24th November 1676 he received a commission as ritmeester, or captain of horse, in the regiment commanded by Major Cabeljauw.⁵ He held it for little more than a year.⁶ Hugh Mackay of Scourie, however, kept ahead of him in the competition, if it existed, for promotion. On 27th August 1677 Mackay was commissioned colonel of one of the Scottish regiments in the Dutch service, in the room of Colonel Henry Graham,⁷

¹ Carr, *A Particular Account, etc.*, p. 7. Bernardi (*Life*, p. 30) describes the assault as conducted by 'the Prince of Orange's Blue Guards.'

² Bernardi, *Life*, p. 30. According to Carr's *Account* (p. 8), 'the Guards of the Prince' were under orders to second the English brigade in the event of the latter failing in the assault on 4th August.

³ Carr, *A Particular Account, etc.*, p. 16.

⁴ 'Eleven Thousand of his Highness's Army were killed and wounded; three Colonels of the English Brigade also lost their Lives, viz. Colonel Widderington, Brother to the late Lord of that Name, Colonel Doleman [? Thomas Dolman], and one of the Scotch Colonels [? Henry Graham]. Sir John Fenwick was wounded, and near one Half of the other Officers and private Soldiers of every Regiment was killed and wounded' (Bernardi, *Life*, p. 32).

⁵ For this hitherto unrecorded fact in Claverhouse's career I am indebted to the Assistant Keeper of the Dutch Archives, who was so good as to direct a search of the records for references to Claverhouse's Dutch service. In the commission of 24th November 1676 Claverhouse is described as 'baron de Claverhous.' Further investigation of the Dutch Archives has unfortunately failed to elicit any information as to the service of Major Cabeljauw's regiment, or to Claverhouse's conduct in it.

⁶ See below, p. 21.

⁷ Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 470. Mackay's commission was dated from 28th April 1677.

who had probably been killed in the course of the siege.¹ Claverhouse's recent promotion, and the fact that the vacant regiment had been commanded by his namesake, may alike have prompted him to become a candidate in opposition to Mackay. But there is no evidence that he did so. Certainly he was not impelled by a sense of unrequited service to resign the commission he had so recently gained.

The campaign of 1677 was the last which Claverhouse served under William of Orange. Early in the spring of the year the Duc d'Orléans laid siege to St. Omer. Without waiting for 'the majestick Motions of the Spaniards,' his allies, William marched to the relief of the town. At Cassel, whilst traversing difficult ground, he was attacked by Orléans.² The battle gave the French one of the notable victories of the war. William retreated and left St. Omer to its fate. After an interval of six weeks he invested Charleroi. Condé drew near, however, and getting between Charleroi and Brussels, whence William's siege artillery was expected, compelled the besieging army to draw off. The siege of Charleroi was abandoned, and a few weeks later William marched to Enghien.³ Leaving his army encamped there, he proceeded to England, and in November 1677 married the Princess Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York.

Simultaneously, so tradition would have it, Claverhouse, mortified and disappointed, flung himself free from an ungrateful master. That the tradition is wholly unreliable in its incidents has already been shown. It is equally so in the general impression it conveys. The ascertained

¹ See Bernardi, *Life*, p. 32.

² Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 31. According to Carleton, William was marching 'over a Morass,' and his troops were not able, 'by the Straitness of the Passage, to engage all at once.' He adds that the French attacked before half of William's army was over.

³ Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 34; Bernardi, *Life*, pp. 37 *et seq.*

facts are two : On 9th December 1677 Claverhouse's successor as ritmeester in the regiment of Major Cabeljauw received his commission.¹ By that date, therefore, Claverhouse had decisively left the Dutch service. On the following 19th February 1678 the Marquis of Montrose was able to refer to his kinsman of Claverhouse as strongly recommended to him for a commission by the Duke of York.² It is impossible to escape the conclusion that Claverhouse owed to William his introduction to James's notice.³ William's recommendation of Claverhouse to James must be accounted for upon one of two grounds. Either his good offices were spontaneous, in which case the obligation under which he lay to Claverhouse was something beyond that of a commander to a subordinate. Or, on the other hand, William's recommendation was solicited by Claverhouse. Both suppositions equally veto the motive of his resignation as given by Balhaldy and the *Memoirs* of 1714. For, in the one case, it is inconceivable that William should have foisted on to the shoulders of another obligations binding on himself. In the other, it is equally impossible to believe that Claverhouse should have condescended to beg for the mediation of one who had refused, as Balhaldy asserts, to pay his own debt of honour.

To disentangle fact from fiction in this crisis of Claverhouse's career : He had entered William's service in 1674 as a volunteer, and served in that rank till 1676, when he received his captaincy. Balhaldy and the *Memoirs* of 1714 detail an unauthenticated and im-

¹ State Archives at the Hague.

² See below, p. 35.

³ Balhaldy states that William is said to have recommended Claverhouse as 'a fine gentleman, and a brave officer, fitt for any office, civil or military.' William was indeed generous, if the rest of Balhaldy's story is correct (*Memoirs of Locheill*, p. 275). Morer writes : 'At his [Claverhouse's] Return [to England], however, the Prince gave him a Letter of Recommendation, directed to the Duke of York, with a Request to provide for him' (*Short Account*, p. 95).

probable tradition in ascribing to him William's rescue at Seneffe. If further disproof of the legend than that already advanced is needed, it is found in the fact that Claverhouse waited for over two years before promotion rewarded a service which, if rendered at all at that period, would assuredly have been immediately recognised. On the other hand, that Claverhouse established some claim upon William's notice beyond that of mere service under him may be accepted upon the authority of the *Grameid*. Taking it as established that Claverhouse did render some signal service to William, the occasion of it is rather to be looked for in the campaigns of 1676 or 1677. Claverhouse's commission as ritmeester in November 1676 suggests, though far from conclusively, that the campaign of that year had made William his debtor. But the balance of probability inclines to the campaign of 1677. The battle of Cassel and the operations round Charleroi furnished a better opportunity for the asserted rescue of William than the campaigns of the preceding years,¹ and more naturally fall in with William's immediate recommendation of Claverhouse to James.

Nor is it necessary to postulate wounded pride, unrequited service, or disappointed ambition, in explanation of Claverhouse's resignation of his Dutch commission. He had conclusively adopted the profession of arms, but that he contemplated an indefinitely prolonged service abroad is improbable. He had proceeded to Holland, as he had earlier to France, to acquire the best training in the science of his profession. Having acquired it, inclination drew him homeward to apply it. His mother's recent death, duty to his estate, clamoured equally for his

¹ When William withdrew from the siege of Charleroi, he again traversed the field of Seneffe (see Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 33). One is tempted to hazard the conjecture that the scene of Claverhouse's service to William may have been on the battlefield, though not at the battle of Seneffe.

return. That he did not remain in Scotland upon his brief visit in 1675-76 was certainly due to his desire to secure in William's service such a rank as should commend him for employment in his native land. By November 1676 he had obtained his captaincy. A service of some value to William increased his claim for consideration. William's visit to England gave him opportunity to press it. William did so with happiest result. His good word proved the first step in a career of almost breathless advancement.

CHAPTER III

DRUMCLOG

By 9th December 1677 Claverhouse had resigned his commission in the Dutch service.¹ The hope of employment drew him to Scotland, where a narrow-minded but conscientious peasantry was being surely driven to revolt. His interest was with the Duke of York, and to London he perhaps made his way. Possibly he accompanied William of Orange thither. Whatever his passport—William's recommendation of him, his military service, his distinguished bearing, a decisiveness of character and suggestion of masterful ability—Claverhouse faced homewards assured of the good-will of a Prince whose friendship he more than requited. He waited no long time for proof of its existence.

In February 1678 a new regiment, 'His Royal Highness' Regiment of Horse,' was raised for service in Flanders. Its colonel was Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough. The young Marquis of Montrose received a troop in it.² The regiment was commissioned on 16th February,³ and

¹ State Archives at the Hague.

² *S. P. Domestic Entry Book*, No. 29, fol. 254. The regiment was disbanded in January and March 1679 (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. i. p. 202). On 19th January 1679 Barillon writes from London to Louis XIV. : 'Le régiment de cavalerie de M. le Duc d'York fut cassé hier. J'apprends cependant qu'il a rencontré de grandes difficultés à tirer des orphèvres l'argent que la cour espérait en avoir. Cela n'est pas d'un médiocre embarras, car il en faut pour licencier les troupes et pour les faire subsister' (Campana de Cavelli, *Les derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye*, vol. i. p. 243).

³ *Domestic Entry Book*, *ibid.*

three days later (19th February) Montrose wrote to his kinsman of Claverhouse to offer, with apology to one who so recently had held a higher rank, the lieutenantancy of his troop. 'I pretend that non bot gentlemen should ride in it,' the Marquis explained.¹ Montrose was clearly anxious to enlist his kinsman's service and experience. He wrote to Graham of Monorgan on the same date to urge him to influence Claverhouse. The Duke of York, he stated, 'has a very good opinion of Claverhouse, and he bid me endeavour by all means to get him for my Lieutenant. Therefore, I most earnestly beg that you would be pleased to represent to him the advantages he may have by being near the Duke, and by making himself better known to him. And withal assure him from me, that if he will embrace this offer, he shall also share with me in my advancement and better fortune.'²

That Claverhouse accepted Montrose's offer is generally asserted by his biographers.³ That he should have rejected it in face of the Duke of York's recommendation

¹ Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, Bann. Club, p. 87.

² Quoted in Napier, vol. i. p. 184.

³ My predecessors have fallen into a bewilderment of error upon this point, and upon Claverhouse's early military service in Scotland. Mr. Morris (*Claverhouse*, p. 44), who misunderstands the nature of Montrose's commission, asserts that Claverhouse accepted the lieutenantancy, and that 'promotion was not long delayed.' Claverhouse, in fact, never held a lower commission than that of captain in Scotland. The author of *The Despot's Champion* also confuses the Duke of York's Regiment, commissioned in February 1678, with the three independent troops of horse raised in Scotland later in the year, to the command of one of which Claverhouse was appointed. Mr. Henderson in his article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* falls into the same error as the author of *The Despot's Champion*. There is no evidence, he says, when Claverhouse obtained his lieutenant's commission, but he obtained his captaincy when Montrose succeeded to a command. Montrose, in fact, was on 26th October 1678 commissioned Captain of the Life Guard of Horse in Scotland in room of the Marquis of Atholl (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. fol. 34). Not only had Claverhouse no connection whatever with the Life Guards, but his commission as captain of his own independent troop was senior to Montrose's by more than a month.

of him may appear strange. That he did reject it cannot be questioned, for one Patrick Graham was commissioned to the lieutenancy.¹ On what grounds Claverhouse refused his kinsman's invitation can only be conjectured. If a desire to return home had weighed in his so recent resignation of his Dutch commission, his unwillingness to undertake a further period of foreign service is intelligible. Possibly the proffered lieutenancy, even in a troop of gentlemen riders, seemed barely to measure his deserts. Whatever the reason, His Royal Highness's Regiment of Horse went to Flanders without him.

Claverhouse's biographer flounders in a dull sea of conjecture in this early period of his hero's career. In September 1678 the young laird was in the saddle, and his unenviable task of Whig-harrying had begun. But up to that point his movements are hard to trace. On Montrose's offer he had turned his back. Perhaps he never received it—at least, in time to say Yes or No to it. Montrose had written from London on 19th February. A week later, 27th February 1678, Claverhouse had the Privy Council's permission 'to goe aff the Kingdome.'² Why he went and whither he went are mysteries soluble conjecturally merely. One imagines that his recent departure from Holland had been sudden. The resignation of his Dutch commission may have been made from England, and withheld until he was assured

¹ Oddly enough, a John Graham was commissioned cornet in Montrose's troop (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. i. p. 202). As to this Cornet John Graham, the Privy Council on 2nd May 1678, gave permission to leave the kingdom to 'John Grahame, post-master Generall, Representing that he being called to abroad with the Marquis of Montrose, his cheiffe, for his Majesties present service' (*Privy Council Acta*, June 1673—Aug. 1678, fol. 698). See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1673-75, p. 92.

² *Privy Council Acta*, June 1673—Aug. 1678, fol. 619. The Council, on 3rd January 1678, in consideration of 'the great disorders latly committed in some westerne and other shires,' had forbidden noblemen, heritors, magistrates of burghs, and others, to leave the Kingdom (*ibid.*, fol. 554).

of York's patronage. If so, Holland might call him for the adjustment of business, and a good-bye to old comrades. His visit, to Holland or elsewhere, was of no long duration. By the middle of June, there is ground for believing, he was again in Scotland.¹ On 10th July he was appointed by the Estates to act as a commissioner for raising 'a new and voluntar offer' of £180,000.²

With the autumn of 1678 Claverhouse's career merges into the history of Scotland. To elaborate the *mise-en-scène* is happily unnecessary. The setting is familiar. Briefly, eighteen years had shattered the hopes of 1660, the *annus mirabilis*. To the restored monarchy the Covenant was frankly *anathema*. But the extravagances of Laud were avoidable and avoided, and the tenets of Calvin had freedom under Episcopal direction. The hybrid satisfied or disturbed Scotland unequally. In the North, Presbyterianism was adaptive, though reluctant. In the South-West it stood at bay, resolute and defiant.

The standing military establishment in Scotland in 1678, at the moment when Claverhouse entered it, consisted of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards, the Earl of Mar's infantry regiment, two companies of Highlanders under Colonel James Menzies and the Earl of Caithness, and three companies of dragoons under the Viscount Kingston, Captain John Strachan, and Captain John Inglis.³ In September 1678 this establishment was increased by three independent troops of horse, to the captaincy of which the Earl of Airlie, the Earl of Home,

¹ On 18th June 1678 he was served heir to his grandfather and great-grandfather in certain lands (*Services of Heirs*, vol. i. Forfar, Nos. 475, 476), and to his father in the Glen or Barony of Ogilvie (*Scrymgeour-Wedderburn Charter-Chest*, Box iv., bundle iii., No. 7).

² *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. viii. p. 228.

³ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. No. 94.

and Claverhouse were respectively commissioned on 23rd September 1678.¹

Undoubtedly Claverhouse owed his commission to the Duke of York's favour and personal interest with the King. For his troop there must have been many suitors, and, as the disposal of the other commands shows, of higher rank than himself. There is no reason to doubt Thomas Morer's statement, that while Home and Airlie received their commissions on Lauderdale's nomination, the King withdrew the third from the minister's patronage.² From the troop to which royal favour had appointed him, Claverhouse was not severed during his service in Scotland. As captain of it, and ultimately as colonel of the regiment of which the three troops formed the nucleus, his men learned to know him a brave, resolute, and inspiring leader, and to yield him a devotion which drew a band of the shattered regiment round him in his supreme moment at Killiecrankie.

Within a few weeks of his commission Claverhouse was on active duty, of a type barely satisfying, one imagines, to one who knew military service in another form. In the South-West disaffection was rife. On 14th May 1678 the Privy Council had informed the King of 'numerous

¹ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. iv. fol. 419-421. Each troop consisted of a captain, lieutenant, cornet, quartermaster, three corporals, two trumpets, and sixty rank and file. The captain's pay was 14s. per day, including an allowance of 4s. for two horses. On 27th September 1678, Robert Graham (who was killed at Drumclog), and James Graham, were commissioned to the cornetcy and quartermastership of Claverhouse's troop (*ibid.*, vol. iv. fol. 452-53). Upon the death of the latter, Claverhouse's brother, David, was on 3rd March 1680 commissioned to the vacant quartermastership (*ibid.*, vol. v. fol. 437). There is in the Register House a set of vouchers for the pay of Claverhouse's troop, dating from 28th November 1678.

² *Short Account of Scotland*, p. 95. Morer writes: 'And 'twas a particular Testimony of the King's Favour; for tho' he allowed Duke Lauderdale to dispose of the other Commissions as he thought good, yet he excepted Mr. Graham's, and 'twas the only Exception on that Occasion.'

field-conventicles kept in several places of the kingdom, who, with armed men, have in many places resisted your authority, and . . . seeing these insolences are daily iterated, and are still upon the growing hand,' they urged the despatch of troops, 'whose constant employment may be for dissipating and interrupting those rendezvouses of rebellion.'¹ To what extent frequenters of the forbidden conventicles already contemplated a resort to arms, is difficult to determine.² The Government had done little to convince them that passive measures were likely to obtain consideration and tolerant dealing. With fresh forces raised to coerce them, and the soldiery quartered in their midst, Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge were inevitable.

Dumfriesshire and Annandale were assigned to Claverhouse and his troop. Captain John Inglis and a company of dragoons were at his disposal. On 27th December 1678 he was at Moffat, and on the morrow, on the point of marching to Dumfries, sent his first despatch to the Earl of Linlithgow, Commander-in-Chief. He had already learned, he told his chief, 'that this contry has been very loose.' In the past week there had been 'grate field conventikles just by here, with great contempt of the reguler clergy, who complain extreamly, when I tell them I have no orders to apprehend any for past misdoers.' A more pressing difficulty faced him. 'They tell me,' he wrote, 'that the one end of the bridge of Dumbfrich is in

¹ Quoted in Napier, vol. ii. p. 185.

² Speaking of the rising of 1679, Wodrow declares: 'There was no preconcert, nor any formed design laid down; but the oppressed people gradually fell into the rising, by a chain of things making it some way necessary to them' (*History*, vol. iii. p. 62). On the other hand, one Robert Smith, formerly of the parish of Dunscore, Dumfries, gave evidence a few years later, to the effect that 'for near two years before the Rebellion, in the year 1679,' preparations for a rising were being made (*A True Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against the Late King, his present Majesty, and the Government*. London, 1685).

Galaua.' The Nith, in fact, bounded his commission. Hence, he complained, 'they may hold conventicles at our nose, [and] we not dare to dissat them, seing our orders confines us to Dumfriche and Anandell. Such ane insult as that would not please me,' he added, 'and on the other hand, I am unwilling to exceed orders, so that I expect from your Lordship orders how to cary in such cases.'¹

To picture Claverhouse indifferent to instructions is at variance with every known fact regarding him. His reluctance to exceed orders was not the timidity of inexperience. 'I must acknowledge that till now in any service I have been in, I never inquyred further in the lawes then the orders of my superiour officers,' he wrote to Linlithgow a few days later from Dumfries (6th January 1679). Linlithgow had assured him that his scrupulous limiting of his activities to within the bounds of Dumfries and Annandale was 'frivolous.' Meanwhile he had begun to execute his orders within his immediate province. At Castlemilk, in Annandale, a conventicle had been built 'upon the expence of the comon purse of the disaffected.' In its internal fittings it masqueraded as a cow-byre. On 3rd January 1679, Claverhouse with a squad of his troop superintended its destruction. 'So perished the charity of many ladys,' he wrote to Linlithgow, by way of epitaph.²

Meanwhile the Government was intent upon a measure which considerably enlarged the powers already vested in Claverhouse. On 9th January 1679, the Committee for Public Affairs drew up a memorandum for the King's

¹ Smythe, *Letters*, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3. The following passage from his letter illustrates Claverhouse's character: 'Mr. Cuper, who is here baily and steward for my Lord Stormont, offered to aprehend Bel, that built the meeting house, if I would concur; I sayd to him that it would be acceptable, but that the order from the Counsell did only bear the taken up the names of persones accessory to the building of it.'

approval. It pointed to the threatened 'subversion of the protestant religion, as well as the peace of the kingdom,' owing to 'the dangerous and pernicious principles instilled into the minds of unwary people, by seditious preachers in their scandalous conventicles.' It drew attention to the difficulty of coping with the danger from a distance, and recommended that the Council should be empowered to nominate sheriffs-depute or bailies-depute 'where the council shall find sheriff-deputes and other deputes . . . have been remiss.' The new officials would be empowered 'to put the laws in execution only against withdrawers from public ordinances, keepers of conventicles, such as are guilty of disorderly baptisms and marriages, resetting and communing with fugitive and intercommuned persons, and other vagrant preachers.'¹ On 18th January the King approved of the Committee's recommendation,² and ten days later (28th January) the Council resolved to proceed to the creation of sheriffs-depute within the disturbed area.³ Its purpose was to combine civil powers with the military authority of officers on whom it could depend for a more rigorous prosecution of the law than the heritable sheriffs and their deputes had so far shown. Accordingly on 27th February, Claverhouse and his lieutenant, Andrew Bruce of Earls-shall, were nominated Sheriffs-depute of Dumfries, Annandale, Wigton, and Kirkcudbright. Sir Robert Grierson of Lag was associated with them in Wigton, and Captain John Paterson in Kirkcudbright.⁴

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 11-12.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 13. The districts were, the shires of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Wigton, Perth, Dumfries, Dumbarton, Linlithgow, Fife and Kinross, Stirling, Haddington, Berwick, Roxburgh, and the stewartries of Kirkcudbright and Annandale.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 20. The new deputes, though nominated by the Council, received their deputation from the heritable sheriff or steward. The Earl of Queensberry's deputation (undated) to Claverhouse and Earls-shall is printed in Napier, vol. i. p. 253.

At the age of thirty, and little more than a year since his withdrawal from Holland, Claverhouse found himself closely involved in one of the most pitiable chapters of his country's history. That he whole-heartedly approved of the policy which he was commissioned to carry out is attested by his letters, and is not to his discredit. To imagine that those whose fear and hatred he earned were persecuted solely as irreconcilables in religion is as far from the truth as to picture their religious extravagances representative of an ideal which the country generally was anxious to endorse. Conventicleism was in its general aspect undoubtedly revolutionary, in that it presented itself as a political manifestation against an authority established and otherwise generally acquiesced in. Howie speaks of the notorious David Hackston of Rathillet, one of the Archbishop's murderers, as 'declared a rebel to the King, though no rebel to Zion's King.'¹ The sentence affords some vindication of the Government's attitude. No civil authority—at least in the seventeenth century, when religious profession and civil duty were inextricably mingled—could allow a considerable and active section of its subjects to contract or covenant itself outside its legal and natural allegiance, or to impose qualifications upon its submission to that authority. Political necessity was at the root of religious intolerance in the seventeenth century in Scotland as in England. To speculate upon the more practical wisdom of milder treatment of dissentients, or to judge the authorities upon their failure to adopt it, is to confuse the character of the period. Persecutors and persecuted alike were the product of their environment, and share in not unequal proportions its narrowness and its bigotry.²

¹ *Scots Worthies*, vol. i. p. 375.

² Speaking of the Cameronian position as consisting in 'disowning all

Throughout January and February 1679, Claverhouse's headquarters were at Dumfries. Of his promised weekly letters to his Chief but few are extant. On 7th February he sent intelligence that a batch of prisoners was on its way to Edinburgh.¹ On the following day he wrote again (8th February). He was far from satisfied with the quartering of his troops and with the arrangements made by the Commissioners of Supply. With characteristic decisiveness he added: 'What to doe in this case your Lordship can best tell; for my pairt, if my troupe com to want hay and straw, I will goe to any of the comissioners lands that ar adjacent, and taik it, offering the rats [rates], and think I doe nothing but what I may answer for, thogh I be very unwilling to disoblidge any gentlemen.' He broached another grievance: 'My Lord, good intelligence is the thing we want most here. Mr. Welch² and others preach securly with in twenty or thretty myles of us, but we can doe nothing for want of spays [spies]; if the counsell and your Lordship thoght fit, there should be so many intertined for every quarter, which would be of great use.'³ On 24th February he recurred to the same subject. He had received an order to seize six persons in Galloway. He had obeyed it at once, and after riding forty miles, 'which is the most can be riden in one night,' had found two only of those he was in search of. The wives of two of his quarry he had found 'laying above

temporal authority, which did not flow from and through the Solemn League and Covenant,' Sir Walter Scott remarks: 'This doctrine . . . is in theory, and would be in practice, inconsistent with the safety of any well-regulated government, because the Covenanters deny to their governors that toleration, which was iniquitously refused to themselves. In many respects, therefore, we cannot be surprised at the anxiety and rigour with which the Cameronians were persecuted, although we may be of opinion, that milder means would have induced a melioration of their principles' (*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Poetical Works*, vol. ii. p. 226).

¹ Smythe, *Letters*, p. 9.

² John Welch, minister of Irongray.

³ Smythe, *Letters*, p. 11.

the clothes in the bed, and great candles lighted,' expecting his arrival. Those whom he caught, the women told him, had none to blame but themselves, since they 'would not contribut for intelligence.' So completely were his movements anticipated, Claverhouse complained, that 'ther is almost no body lays in ther bed, that knowes themselves any ways guilty, with in fourty milles of us, and with in a few days I shall be upon them three scor of mylles of at on bout, for seasing on the others contined in the order.' The stretch of country committed to him was, in fact, more than he could adequately police;¹ he put its range at 'above a hondred myles.' The proximity of the coast was another difficulty; 'for all those rogues run over to Yrland.' Portpatrick and Ballantrae he proposed to secure. He asked that similar vigilance might be exercised in the Ayrshire ports.²

To a young commander whose striking power was already ineffective within a forty-miles radius, added responsibilities were honourable but distracting. On 27th February 1679 the Council framed their commission to Claverhouse and the other newly-nominated sheriffs-depute. They were instructed to dissipate conventicles, to apprehend their frequenters, and also all vagrant ministers, intercommuned persons, and others declared fugitive by the Council or courts, or whose apprehension might be ordered by the Council. They were empowered to cite before them persons frequenting conventicles or performing illegal marriages or baptisms; to 'unlaw' such as refused to appear when cited, and to impound the movables of such as failed to pay fines, 'forbearing always

¹ An Act of Council of 13th February 1679 partly met Claverhouse's complaint. One company of foot, one troop of Horse Guards, and one company of dragoons were allocated to Galloway, and were directed to 'oversee' Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbright (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 16).

² Smythe, *Letters*, p. 13. Another letter to Linlithgow, undated, but presumably written in February or March 1679, is in *ibid.*, p. 15, but is of no particular importance.

labouring oxen or horse from the last of October to the last of May for labouring.' At the desire of the parish minister they were licensed to apprehend 'any person who shall contemptuously disobey the discipline and censures of the church,' and to imprison them until they found surety for their good behaviour; to prosecute such as withdrew from the services of their parish church, and to report to the Council the names and particulars of those they apprehended. Their work was to be paid by results: 'You are to apply the whole fines of all the persons who are not landed men to yourself, and the other sheriff-deputes who concur mutually with you at each respective sentence and proceeding, and to their members of court, and collectors; and the fines of all landed men, and their wives and children, the one half to the commissioners appointed within their jurisdiction, the other half to be forthcoming to the king, which the commissioners are appointed to uplift, and be countable for the one half.' The deputies were to hold their courts 'once every week at least, and oftener as you shall think fit.'¹

Amid the calls of public service Claverhouse found leisure to enter upon a correspondence of a personal bearing. It is too indicative of his purposeful character, his abounding self-confidence, and resolution to push his interests in every inviting channel, to hold over to its more natural and later context. The Earldom of Menteith was in 1679 in the hands of its eighth holder, William Graham. His health was bad, he was separated from his wife, he was childless, and his estates were deeply encumbered. His heiress—his titles excepted—was his cousin, Helen Graham, the daughter of his uncle, Sir James Graham. On whose initiative is not clear, Claverhouse

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 21-23. The commission was probably not immediately operative. The order to Queensberry to appoint Claverhouse and Earlsball as his deputies gave him until 2nd April 1679 to do so (Napier, vol. ii. p. 196).

threw himself into a pretty scheme which promised greatly to his advantage. He proposed to marry Helen Graham, whom probably he had never seen; to make the much encumbered Earl his pensioner, and eventually, if the necessary authority could be obtained, to succeed to the Earldom. At about the time when he received his troop, he visited Menteith and found him sympathetic. Montrose also, who was consulted as head of the family, seemed 'very well satisfied,' though he played for his own hand later. Shortly after, Claverhouse despatched a delightfully ingenuous communication to Menteith:¹—

'MY DEAR LORD,

Since I pairted with you, I waited on my Lord Montrose at Sterling, and from thence to Comernad, and so to his owen house. I told him all that had passed betuixt your Lordship and me; he seemes to be very well satisfied, and assures me that he will com to Edinbourg when ever I shall advertise him. I would apoint no daye till I akquainted your Lordship with it. So, my Lord, if you contineu your resolution in it, I shall wait for your comands with this bearer.

My Lord, as your friend and servant, I doe tak the liberty to give you on advise, which is that ther can be nothing so advantageous for you as to setle your affaires, and establish your successor in tyme, for it can doe you no prejudice if you com to have any childring of your owen body, and will be much for your quyet and comfort if yoe have non; for who ever you mak choyse of will be in place of a sonne. You knou that Julius Caesar had no need to regrait the want of isseu, having adopted Augustus, for he kneu certainly that he had secured to himself a thankfull and usefull friend, as well as a wyse successor, neither of which he could have promised himself by having childring; for nobody knous whether they begit wyse men or fooles, beside that the tays of gratitud and friendship ar stronger in generous mynds than those of natur. My Lord, I may, without being suspected of self interest, offer some raisons to reneu to you the advantage of that resolution you have taken in my faveurs. First, that there is nobody of my estat out

¹ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 170. The letter is undated.

of your nam would confound there famly in yours, and nobody in the nam is able to give you those conditions, nor bring in to you so considerable an interest, besids that I will easier obtine your cusin german¹ then any other, which brings in a great interest, and contineus your family in the right lyne. And then, my Lord, I may say without vanity that I will doe your family no dishonor, seing there is nobody you could mak choyse of has toylt so much for honor as I have don, thogh it has been my misfortun to atteen but a small shear. And then, my Lord, for my respect and gratitud to your Lordship, you will have no raison to dout of it, if you consider with what a francness and easiness I lieve with all my friends. But, my Lord, after all this, if thes raisons cannot perswad you that it is your interest to pitch on me, and if you can think on any body that can be mor proper to restor your family, and contribut mor to your confort and satisfaction, mak frankly choyse of him, for without that you can never think of geating any thing don for your famly : it will be for your honor that the world see you never had thoughts of alienating your family, then they will look no mor upon you as the last of so noble a race, but will consider you rather as the restorer then the ruiner, and your family rather as rysing than falling ; which, as it will be the joy of our friends and relations, so it will be the confusion of our enims.—I am, my dearest Lord,

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

J. GRAHAME.'

For all his deprecation of any taint of self-interest, diffidence is not a characteristic of Claverhouse's letter. An amusing and precocious sententiousness, confident reliance upon himself, and little shrinking from self-appraisement, are writ large over it. They were qualities which the holder of a fading title could appreciate in one who aspired to restore its fortunes. Menteith therefore wrote to his uncle, Sir James. He described Claverhouse as 'a person exceeding ueel accomplished as any I knou, uith natur gifts, for all thats noble and verteus may be seen in him, and as uee say, he is ueel to live, for he hes a free estate

¹ Helen Graham.

upwards of six hundir pund starling yearly of good payable rent, neir by Dundie.' He would give his consent, he added, to Helen Graham's marriage to no one but his *protégé*.¹ Claverhouse hastened to formally propose himself for Helen Graham's hand. Military duty prevented him from proceeding to Ireland, where she and her parents were living. He wrote to Sir James, however, and on 14th February 1679 was anxiously awaiting his messenger's return. 'I begin to despair of his coming,' he tells Menteith, and 'of the success of that voyage.' Montrose had sent him a disturbing and, as it proved, premature rumour, that 'ane Yrish gentleman has caried away the Lady.' 'Houever, my Lord,' Claverhouse added, 'it shall never alter the course of our friendship; for if, my Lord, either in history or romance, either in natur or the fancy, man ther be any stronger names or rairer exemples of friendship then these your Lordship does me the honor to name in your kynd and generous letter, I am resolved not onlly to equall them but surpass them.'² So the prologue ended. Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge were events of the past, and the name of the unknown captain of horse had gained some notoriety, before Claverhouse had opportunity to press his suit in person.

Throughout March and April 1679 Claverhouse was busily employed. In the middle of March he was in 'the utmost parts of Galloway.'³ Queensberry was not easy to work with, and provender for the troops was not readily obtained. For reasons not hard to guess, also, Claverhouse refused to act with Queensberry's own nominated depute.⁴ But these were trifles. The attitude of the persecuted Whigs was becoming increasingly threatening. On 30th March a small party of dragoons, which had been sent from Lanark to disperse a conventicle at Lesmahagow,

¹ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. i. p. 422. ² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 172.

³ Smythe, *Letters*, p. 16.

⁴ See Napier, vol. i. pp. 254-57.

met the fate of Claverhouse at Drumclog two months later. The dragoons, less than twenty strong, rode down upon a prayer-meeting, and stumbled upon an army. The lieutenant bade those present disperse. They refused, fired a volley, and the lieutenant fell mortally wounded. Seven of the dragoons were made prisoners; the remaining seven and their ensign fled back to Lanark.¹ The result was heartening to the Whigs. On 21st April Claverhouse writes to Linlithgow from Dumfries: 'I fynd Mr. Welch is acustoming both ends of the contry to face the Kings forces, and certainly intends to brak out in ane open rebellion.' He reported the holding in the district of 'the teriblest convence that has been yet heard of,' and warned Linlithgow that 'the armes of militia in this shyr, as well as in that of Wigton, and Annandelle, ar in the hands of the contry people, thogh very disaffected.'²

May 1679 opened ominously. On the 3rd the Archbishop, James Sharp, was foully done to death on Magus Muir, near St. Andrews.³ No word of the tragedy had reached Claverhouse at Dumfries when three days later (6th May) he wrote to Linlithgow. He had been beating up conventicles with little success. 'If I gate them not here, I shall goe and visit them in Tiviotdalle or Carak, wher, they say, they dar look honest men in the face,' he added.⁴ His opportunity was nearer than he suspected. On 29th May he writes from Falkirk. He had arrived there the previous night, 'with the horse and dragoons and munition in good pass.' He had information—it proved passably accurate—'that aighteen parishes shall meet Sonday nixt [1st June] in Kilbryd moor with in four myles of Glascow.' He was sceptical of the truth of

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 162. ² Smythe, *Letters*, p. 18.

³ For accounts of the tragedy see Kirkton, *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 403 *et seq.*, 483; Maidment, *Analecta Scotica*, second series, p. 388.

⁴ Smythe, *Letters*, p. 24.

the report, but intended to inform Lord Ross at Glasgow, 'so that with our joint force we may attaque them.'¹ He had left Dumfries with no warning of the serious business in which he was shortly to be engaged.² Before his letter had reached its destination the rebellion was proclaimed.

Since the affair at Lesmahagow the Whigs had increased in numbers and in spirit. It was therefore resolved, says Wodrow, to make 'a testimony against the iniquity of the times.' Robert Hamilton and a party of three or four score horse³ were appointed to proceed to some public place for the purpose. The 29th May 1679 was the date selected. It was the King's birthday and the date of his restoration; its public observance had been enjoined. As the occasion for a protest against an uncovenanted monarchy it was appropriate. It was at first intended, so Wodrow had reason to believe, to make the demonstration at Glasgow.⁴ But as Lord Ross⁵ and

¹ Smythe, *Letters*, p. 27. So far as can be judged from the scanty correspondence, Claverhouse had evacuated Dumfries and his own particular district in obedience to orders which had reached him from Linlithgow on 5th May. See his letter of 6th May in *ibid.*, p. 24.

² Montrose, who met him at Mugdock on 30th May, informed Menteith that Claverhouse 'is sent with his troop, and a troop of dragoons, to guard some arms and ammunition transported to this countrey' (*Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 173). Wodrow, speaking of the events of this month, says that Claverhouse had lately surprised a conventicle at Galashiels (*History*, vol. iii. p. 61). Galashiels was so completely out of Claverhouse's quarter that the circumstance possibly took place during his march from Dumfries.

³ Wodrow gives their number as about eighty. Montrose gives them as 'about three score hors' (*Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 173).

⁴ Wodrow is probably misinformed on this point. The Privy Council, in a letter to Lauderdale on 3rd June 1679, state more probably, that after the demonstration at Rutherglen Hamilton's party 'intended to have done the same at Glasgow, had not Claverhouse his unexpected arrival there, with his troop and company of dragoons, luckily prevented them' (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 82).

⁵ George, Lord Ross of Hawkhead was a lieutenant-colonel of the Guards on the Scottish establishment. Like Claverhouse, he married one of the Cochrans of Dundonald. His son William, Lord Ross served under Claverhouse in the latter's regiment.

some troops were quartered there, Rutherglen was chosen for the purpose. On the afternoon of 29th May Hamilton and his party rode into the town, extinguished the bonfires, burned the Acts which had established and supported Episcopacy since 1661, and affixed to the Market Cross their own Declaration or Testimony.¹ Their work accomplished, the party withdrew southward towards the vale of Avon and Newmilns.²

News of the proceedings at Rutherglen reached Claverhouse late on the afternoon of 29th May 1679. His letter to Linlithgow from Falkirk that morning shows that he contemplated a junction with Ross at Glasgow. He must have been already some distance on his way thither. Despatching a part of his troop in ineffectual pursuit of Hamilton's party, he hastened towards Glasgow. On the 30th Montrose received him at Mugdock Castle, his seat near Milngavie.³ Within a few hours he had joined Ross at Glasgow.

Claverhouse's appearance with his troop and dragoons brought welcome reinforcement to Glasgow. In relation to its proximity to the area of disturbance, its garrison was not considerable. Ross had at his disposal four companies of foot, and one troop of Montrose's Life Guards. Two companies of foot and fifty dragoons were distributed in the shires of Renfrew and Lanark.⁴ Late on 31st May 1679 Claverhouse set out from Glasgow to follow Hamilton's trail.⁵ At Hamilton he made a few prisoners, the preacher John King among them. There he gained important intelligence. On the following day, Sunday, 1st June, a large conventicle was to meet near

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 68. Wodrow writes 'Evandale.'

³ *Red Book of Monteith*, vol. ii. p. 173. According to Montrose, Hamilton was 'pursued by a party of that [Claverhouse's] troop till midnight, tho' in vain.'

⁴ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 82.

Loudoun Hill, not far distant. At Hamilton Claverhouse called a halt, and rested his force for the inglorious morrow.¹

On the morning of 1st June 1679 Claverhouse was early astir. By six o'clock he was at Strathaven with his prisoners.² He breakfasted at the Tower Inn, kept by one James or 'Scribbie' Young,³ and then, 'thinking that wee might mak a litle tour to see if we could fall upon a conventicle,' rode on towards Loudoun Hill, some six miles south-westward of Strathaven, where the conventicle was said to be.⁴

Breasting the hill at Drumclog, Claverhouse came into view of the Whigs, a half-mile or so to the northward of him, heavy land and a narrow bog intervening.⁵

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 68, 69. Wodrow makes the statement, of obvious parentage: 'I am told he [Claverhouse] was dissuaded, by some of his friends, from going thither, and assured there would be a good many resolute men in arms there, yet trusting to his own troop, and some others of horse and dragoons he had with him, he would go.'

² His despatch to Linlithgow (*Stowe MSS.*, 142, fol. 95) is consonant with the view that Claverhouse rested at Strathaven on the night of 31st May. Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 69), however, states: 'Upon the Sabbath morning, June 1st, he marched very early from Hamilton to Strathaven town, about five miles south, and carried his prisoners with him.'

³ Aiton, *History of the Rencounter at Drumclog*, p. 52. Aiton's information was derived from his grandfather, who was contemporary with the events he describes.

⁴ Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 69) confirms Claverhouse's despatch as to his having ridden straight to Loudoun Hill from Strathaven. Aiton (p. 52) states, however, that after breakfast at Strathaven, Claverhouse heard that the conventicle was not to meet that day; that he thereupon rode back towards Glasgow; that about a mile north of Strathaven he got certain information regarding the conventicle, and turning about, rode towards Loudoun Hill by way of Letham House and Crewburn.

⁵ Claverhouse describes the enemy as 'drauen up in batell upon a most advantageous ground to which there was no coming but through moes.' Aiton (p. 93) remarks: 'The ground on the north side of the bog where the Covenanters made their stand, was rather steeper than that occupied by the military, but was also fair lying arable land, with a declivity of about a foot in twenty. The marshy ground between these arable fields was only a few yards broad . . . and there is now no vestige of a bog in that place.' Had Claverhouse known the ground, Aiton says elsewhere (p. 54), 'he could easily have avoided the marsh, and passed the end of

Warning of his coming had preceded him. The preacher, James Douglas, had finished his sermon; non-combatants had fallen to the rear.¹ Placing his prisoners under guard,² Claverhouse reconnoitred the enemy.³ He reckoned them at four battalions of foot and three squadrons of horse.⁴ In numbers they easily surpassed him.⁵ It is averred by Creighton that Claverhouse

it by a public road, only about two or three hundred yards to the westward.' James Russell describes the bog as 'a great gutter like a stank; being no way to get about it' (Kirkton, *Secret and True History*, p. 442).

¹ They 'went forward, and drew up all in a body, and then prayed and sang,' says James Russell (*ibid.*, p. 442). Thomas Brownlee of Torfoot, who was present, gives a picturesque account (Howie, *Scots Worthies*, vol. i. pp. 587 *et seq.*), which is probably accurate in the main. He says: 'The venerable Douglas had commenced the solemnities of the day. He was expatiating on the execrable evils of tyranny. . . . In this moment of intense feeling, our watchman, posted on the neighbouring height, fired his carbine, and ran toward the Congregation. He announced the approach of the enemy. We raised our eyes to the Minister. "I have done," said Douglas, with his usual firmness.—"You have got the theory,—now for the practice; you know your duty; self-defence is always lawful. But the enemy approaches." He raised his eyes to heaven and uttered a prayer—brief and emphatic—like the prayer of Richard Cameron, "Lord, spare the green, and take the ripe." . . . Our aged men, our females and children retired . . . to the rising ground in the rear of our host. The aged men walked with their bonnets in hand. Their long grey locks waved in the breeze. They sang a cheerful psalm. The music was that of the well-known tune of *The Martyrs*; and the sentiment breathed defiance.'

² In 'the farm-yard of North-Drumclog' (Aiton, p. 53).

³ 'We could see him,' says Torfoot, 'view our position with great care. His officers came around him' (Howie, *ibid.*).

⁴ The foot, he reported to Linlithgow (*Stowe MSS.*), were 'all well armed with fuses and pitchforks.'

⁵ Claverhouse took into action his own troop of horse and a company of at least sixty dragoons, according to his despatch to Linlithgow. A similar strength is assigned to him in *A true Account of the Rising of the Rebels in the West of Scotland*, Lond. 1679. (Brit. Mus. 600 e. 32). The strength of Claverhouse's own troop, including officers, was under seventy. His total force was certainly under one hundred and fifty. Creighton gives him about one hundred and eighty (*Works of Swif't*, ed. Scott, vol. x. p. 127). The strength of the Whigs cannot so easily be established, as a great proportion of them was non-combatant. Creighton (*ibid.*) puts them at eight or nine thousand; the *Memoirs of 1714*, at three thousand; *A true Account* (see above), at '14 or 1500 men well armed and in good order.' Their combatant force is probably under-

marched to Drumclog under sealed orders.¹ The inference is, obviously, the compulsion of engagement against odds. Nothing can be further from the facts. Claverhouse was at Drumclog on his own initiative.² Superiority of numbers in the enemy would weigh little with one whose training taught him to gauge military effectiveness in discipline, smartness, and equipment. But common prudence—it was his first chance to prove himself other than an efficient policeman—and military ritual demanded that he should first summon his enemy and declare the consequences of resistance. He sent forward a flag and demanded a parley. The conditions he offered are conjecturable. Whatever their nature, they were contemptuously rejected.³ Battle was to resolve the issue.

estimated by James Russell, who puts it at 'about 50 horse and about as many guns, and about 150 with forks and halberts' (Kirkton, p. 441). By Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 69) they are given as 'about 40 horse, and 150 or 200 foot.' Among modern writers, Mowbray Morris (*Claverhouse*, p. 67) and the author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 45) both overestimate Claverhouse's force at about two hundred and fifty men. Mr. Henderson in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* supposes the Whigs to have outnumbered Claverhouse by about four to one.

¹ *Swift's Works*, ed. Scott, vol. x. p. 126.

² His despatch to Linlithgow makes it quite clear that with the capture of King and the Rutherglen demonstrators his particular mission was accomplished.

³ Scott (*Old Mortality*, chap. xvi.) most unwarrantably allowed himself to represent Claverhouse's cornet as shot by Balfour while parleying with the Whigs. The author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 49) very properly condemns Sir Walter's unlicensed *addendum* to history. But her statement that 'No flag of truce was sent at Drumclog' is, I think, untenable. The Laird of Torfoot gives the following account (Howie, vol. i. p. 588), which, stripped of its adornments, leaves the main fact established, since there was no motive to introduce it, picturesque or depreciatory, unless it did actually occur: 'We soon learned that he wished to treat with us . . . His flag approached the edge of the bog. Sir Robert [Hamilton] . . . demanded the purpose for which he came. "I come," said he, "in the name of his sacred Majesty, and of Colonel [*sic*] Grahame, to offer you a pardon, on condition that you lay down your arms, and deliver up your ringleaders." "Tell your officer," said Sir Robert, ". . . that we shall lay down our arms to treat, provided that he also lay down his. Thou hast my answer.'" Russell does not mention the incident.

The superior numbers of the enemy, the apparent inaccessibility of their position, and the consequences of defeat alike preached caution. 'The ruffle of an inconsiderable party of the King's troops will raise a formidable rebellion,' old Tom Dalziel remarked at a later time.¹ It was so now. But Claverhouse took the risk, lightly, and with disastrous result. Throwing out a skirmishing party of horse towards the swamp, Claverhouse invited an engagement.² The Whigs detached as many foot from their main body, and at pistol-shot distance in advance of it.³ A few volleys were fired with little effect.⁴ Both parties then pushed forward a section of their main body—dismounted dragoons on the one side, William Cleland with a motley force of guns, pitchforks, and pikes on the other.⁵ Further volleys were exchanged across the morass, and Cleland

The asserted 'No quarters' order issued by Claverhouse before the engagement rests on the authority of James Russell (Kirkton, p. 442) and Torfoot (Howie, vol. i. p. 589). Claverhouse's orders, if Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 69) transcribes them correctly, gave him power 'to kill and destroy all he found in arms, at any field-meeting, [and] to deal with them as traitors.' Claverhouse may have received such instructions from his military superior. But to employ the fact to represent in him a measure of ferocity beyond that of his opponents is ingenuous. See the matter discussed in *The Despot's Champion*, p. 50; Napier, vol. ii. p. 228.

¹ Quoted in Napier, vol. ii. p. 227.

² For the engagement we have Claverhouse's own account, brief, clear, and straightforward, in his despatch to Linlithgow; and also, on the other side, that of James Russell (printed in Kirkton, p. 441). The two correspond exactly in the main incidents of the fight. Torfoot's account is of no value for accurate detail.

³ According to Russell, both skirmishing parties numbered twelve. Russell himself was one of them.

⁴ Claverhouse says shortly of this preliminary skirmishing: 'they [the Whigs] run for it.' From Russell's account it appears that Claverhouse sent three separate skirmishing parties, one of whom was wounded, the only casualty on either side. After the first volley, he admits, 'the honest party retired back to the body.' So also did Claverhouse's skirmishers, he asserts.

⁵ Claverhouse calls his dragoons 'three score': the Whigs he describes as a 'bataillon.' According to Russell the battalion consisted of no more than from thirty-two to forty men.

was driven back in some confusion.¹ Claverhouse chose the moment to advance. A fusillade or two might thin the enemy's ranks, induce a stampede, and open a punishing pursuit. A hand-to-hand scuffle he could hardly contemplate. The nature of the ground, the equipment of the enemy, seemed to forbid it. Aligning the marsh, his troops 'fired desperately.' On the other side were but few guns to answer. Pitchforks and pikes clamoured for close-quarters. 'For the Lord's sake go on! and immediately they ran violently forward, and Clavers was tooming the shot all the time on them.'² The foot threaded the treacherous marsh; the horse followed, treading paths obscured to the royal troops. Cleland and his following were over first, flanking Claverhouse on his left. Their main body threw themselves on his centre. Desperation alone could have nerved a charge so perilous. Their fire wrought havoc, though their own death-roll was heavy. Claverhouse's cornet, Robert Graham,³

¹ Claverhouse says the dragoons 'mad them run again shamfully.' Russell admits that the Whigs were 'very confused in the coming off of the last [Cleland's] party.'

² Such is Russell's vivid account. Claverhouse writes tersely: 'and they percaiving that we had the better of them in skirmish, they resolved a general ingadgement, and imediately advanced with there foot, the horse folouing.'

³ His death has been made the subject of needlessly sceptical inquiry. Napier (vol. i. p. 334) found a Cornet *William* Graham of Claverhouse's regiment surviving in 1684; gratuitously assumed that he was the cornet of Drumclog, and therefore had not died there. He also (vol. ii. p. 223) ventured to quote Claverhouse to prove his assertion. Claverhouse's comma-less despatch mentions the loss of 'the coronet Mr Crafford and Captain Bleith.' On the strength of this Napier asserts that the cornet's name was not Graham. The motive of this laboured argument was to disprove Sir Walter Scott's story of Claverhouse at Bothwell Bridge calling to his men to remember the fate of his kinsman and cornet and to give no quarter. The answer to this is complete. On 27th September 1678 *Robert* Graham was commissioned cornet in Claverhouse's troop (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. iv. fol. 452). On 3rd March 1680 *William* Graham was commissioned to the cornetcy 'in place of the deceased Robert Graham' (*ibid.*, vol. v. fol. 436). As Claverhouse's troop had only one cornet attached to it, and as Claverhouse's despatch mentions him as

his Corporal Crawford,¹ and a Captain Blythe, fell. At close-quarters sword, pitchfork, and pike came into play. The troopers, clogged by the heavy ground, reeled before the strange onslaught. Claverhouse, his horse horribly

killed, there can be no manner of doubt that Cornet Robert Graham was killed at Drumclog.

In Scott's *Old Mortality* the dead cornet is called *Richard* Graham. He is described as the son of Claverhouse's brother David, and the heir of the former, who describes himself in the novel as married and childless in 1679. In fact, Claverhouse was unmarried in 1679, and his brother David never married at all!

The Whig apologists, equally with Napier, have had a motive for disproving the death of Robert Graham at Drumclog. Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 128) alleges that 'The rebels, finding the cornet's body, and supposing it to be that of Clavers, because the name Graham was wrought in the shirt neck, treated it with the utmost inhumanity, cutting off the nose, picking out the eyes, and stabbing it through in a hundred places.' The *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 6) declare: 'imagining him to be Clavers, they barbarously thrust many swords into his dead body, and beat his head into a jelly.' Guild's *Bellum Bothuellianum* (quoted in Scott's *Minstrelsy, Poetical Works*, vol. ii. p. 219) refers thus to the cornet's death:

'hic signifer, eheu!
Trajectus globulo, Græmus, quo fortior alter,
Inter Scotigenas fuerat, nec justior ullus;
Hunc manibus rapuere feris, faciemque virilem
Fœdarunt, lingua, auriculis, manibusque resectis,
Aspera diffuso spargentes saxa cerebro.'

The tradition is no doubt wholly fictitious. Such mutilation as the cornet's body was subjected to was certainly due to the horses riding over it in the fight. Equally absurd is the Whig version of his death detailed by Russell (Kirkton, p. 442): 'One Grahame, that same morning in Strevan his dog was leaping upon him for meat, and he said he would give him none, but he should fill himself of the whigs' blood and flesh or night; but instead of that, his dog was seen eating his own thrapple (for he was killed) by several; and particularly James Russell, after the pursuit.'

In *The Ballad of Loudon Hill* (Scott, *Poetical Works*, vol. ii. p. 223) the cornet is pictured in favourable contrast to Claverhouse, and as deprecating his commander's savage resolution to fight.

Aiton (*Encounter at Drumclog*, p. 60) records a tradition, which he regarded as reliable, that the relatives or friends of the dead cornet, unable to identify his body, left the coffin they had brought at High Drumclog, where it remained in a cart-shed for many years, until it was used for the burying of a vagrant beggar.

¹ Claverhouse calls him 'Mr. Crafford.' There is little doubt that he was the Corporal Crawford to whom he refers in his letter to Linlithgow of 7th February 1679. See Smythe, *Letters*, p. 9.

gored, was carried off the field by the maddened beast.¹ His men abode no longer.²

Claverhouse rode headlong from his defeat. His prisoners, King and the rest, were unheeded, and found unlooked-for liberty. At Strathaven, where he had breakfasted, he ran the gauntlet of enemies heartened

¹ Claverhouse's account runs: 'With a pitchfork they made such an opening in my sorre[ll] horses belly that his guts hung out half an elle and yet he caryed me af an myl, which so disin[ce]joroged our men that they sustined not the shok but fell into disorder.' In the *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 7) the wound is said to have been caused by a scythe. There can be no question that the wound was inflicted during the engagement. Aiton, however (p. 57), states that a man named Finlay, of Leemahagow, came up with Claverhouse at Capernaum, near Coldwakening, 'and would probably have killed that Officer, had not another of the Covenanters called to Finlay to strike at the horse, and thereby secure both it and the rider.'

² The mortality of the fight was chiefly on the side of the royal troops. The Whig losses are no doubt underestimated by Russell (Kirkton, p. 444) at three killed and as many wounded. Claverhouse, he says, lost thirty-six killed. That number roughly tallies with the best accounts. Claverhouse reported three officers killed or wounded, eight or ten of his troop killed, and 'many mor' of the dragoons. He lost a dozen men during the pursuit through Strathaven. Sergeant James Nisbet, whose father boasted of having killed seven of the troopers at Drumlog, puts Claverhouse's losses at thirty or thirty-five killed (*Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch*, ed. M'Crie, p. 519). The complete casualty list is probably given in *A true Account of the Rising of the Rebels in the West of Scotland*, at three officers, about eight troopers, and twenty dragoons, in addition to ten or twelve killed during the pursuit.

'I saved the standarts,' Claverhouse reported to Linlithgow. Russell (Kirkton, p. 444) asserts that Thomas Weir took one of the standards and was mortally wounded, probably in the endeavour. A note on a banner said to have been used by the Whigs at Drumlog and Bothwell Bridge is in *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries Scot.*, vol. iii. pp. 253-258. But Dr. Hay Fleming (*Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. Hay Fleming, vol. ii. p. 216) is very sceptical of the claim of the 'Bloody Banner' to have been present at either fight. Aiton (p. 109) thinks it improbable that the Whigs raised any banner at Drumlog.

The credit for the Covenanters' success seems to have been shared between Robert Hamilton and William Cleland (see Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 70). Veitch describes Cleland (*Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch*, ed. M'Crie, p. 107) as 'a youth extraordinary in warlike affairs and promising, a great philosopher, physician and divine, very sober and pious.' He became lieutenant-colonel of the Angus regiment, and was killed at Dunkeld in 1689. His poems were posthumously published in 1697.

to action, and twelve saddles were emptied ere he gained the open.¹ Three or four miles from Glasgow, Ross² met him, bringing reinforcements. Both concluded an immediate attack on the city as probable, and returned thither. Before nightfall Claverhouse was penning his despatch to Linlithgow. 'This may be counted the beginning of the rebellion,' was his comment on the day's tussle.

¹ 'The toun of Streuen dreu up as we was making our retrait and thocht at a pass to cut us of, but we took couradge and fell to them, made them run, leaving a dousain on the place' (Claverhouse's despatch to Linlithgow). According to Aiton (p. 59) the people of Strathaven attacked Claverhouse in a lane called the 'Hole-closs.'

The pursuit of Claverhouse by the Whigs from Drunclog is said by Aiton (p. 57) to have extended to Calder Water. The graves of two of his dragoons, who were shot near Hillhead, were visible near there until 1750. Defoe (*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 197) asserts that William Cleland 'laid Hands on the Bridle of Claverhouse's Horse, and had certainly taken him Prisoner, if he had been well seconded,' after Claverhouse's flight from the field. According to Russell (Kirkton, p. 444): 'The honest party pursued as long as their horse would trot, being upward of two miles.'

² Ross had received a despatch from Claverhouse, about two or three in the afternoon, desiring assistance. He marched with reinforcements about five o'clock (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 167). Aiton (p. 59) mentions Cathkin, northward of East Kilbride, as the spot where Claverhouse met the reinforcements.

CHAPTER IV

BOTHWELL BRIDGE

It was past one o'clock on the morning of 2nd June 1679, and the city was asleep, when a post-boy, his horn winding, galloped into Edinburgh and roused Linlithgow.¹ He bore a despatch from Ross to his Chief, briefly announcing his intention to barricade Glasgow against the enemy's expected assault.² Prompt measures were imperative. An urgent summons was sent to the members of Council. Within an hour they met, and resolved to call the scattered forces together from Teviotdale, Dumfries, and Fife. Linlithgow proposed to march westward with them early on 4th June.³ Twenty-four hours after its predecessor, a second despatch arrived from Ross. It was dated '6 a'clock at night' (2nd June), and reported the rebels' attack upon Glasgow.⁴ A second time the Privy Councillors were summoned from their beds. They met 'very early' on 3rd June. Claverhouse's Drumclog despatch was also before them. In the light of it and of Ross's latest report they issued a proclamation declaring 'the said insurrection to be an open, manifest, and horrid rebellion, and high treason,' and summoned the rebels to surrender their arms within twenty-four hours.⁵

Meanwhile Claverhouse's anticipations had been realised

¹ *Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch*, ed. M'Crie, p. 108.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 167.

³ Council's letter of 3rd June 1679 to Lauderdale, in Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 82.

⁴ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 166.

⁵ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 72.

with startling suddenness. Premeditated or not, Drum-clog was the prologue to rebellion. No sooner was the pursuit of Claverhouse abandoned than Hamilton and his fellows resolved 'to continue and abide together in arms.' To do so was their only chance. That the Government would exert its fullest strength against them was certain. Should they disband, 'the soldiers would be upon them one by one, and destroy them.'¹ So, on the afternoon of their victory, the Covenanters marched to Strathaven. There they obtained refreshment. Hamilton was reached ere nightfall.² Glasgow, where Claverhouse and his troops stood to arms through the night,³ was but ten miles distant.

Ross had made preparations to resist the threatened attack. Glasgow's four main arteries were barricaded. Musketeers and dragoons were placed at points of vantage.⁴ At sunrise on Monday, 2nd June, a scouting party was sent out to observe the enemy, and Claverhouse joined it. A few hours later the Whigs came in sight. As they approached their force divided. Part made towards the Gallowgate, the rest towards the High Kirk and College.⁵ Robert Hamilton led the former, not without questioning of his courage and competence.⁶ About eleven⁷ the rash and ill-judged assault was made. From behind the barricades the troops covered their assailants with re-

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 70.

² Kirkton, p. 447; Wilson, *A true and impartial Relation*, p. 75.

³ Creighton's *Memoirs*, in Swift, vol. x. p. 129.

⁴ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 166.

⁵ Creighton's *Memoirs*, in Swift, vol. x. p. 129. Creighton asserts that the Gallowgate party, having a shorter distance to traverse, attacked before the other, and so enabled the defenders to deal with each attack separately. Ross (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 166) confirms Creighton.

⁶ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 71.

⁷ Wodrow (*ibid.*) says: 'About ten of the clock the country men came to Glasgow.' Russell (Kirkton, p. 447) gives the time as 'about 12 hours of the day.' Ross, in his despatch to Linlithgow (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 166), times the assault at 'about eleven a'clock.'

morseless fire. The streets were strewn with dead and dying.¹ Sullenly the Whigs withdrew.² Eastward of the town they rallied.³ These were of the 'honest' party, or irreconcilables; for the day's repulse had driven a cleaving wedge into ranks already bursting to division. A second body drew aloof on Tollcross Moor.⁴ Ross sent out his horse and dragoons to follow their retreat towards Hamilton.⁵ At six o'clock in the evening he was penning his despatch to Linlithgow. 'I know not what Jwdgment to give of this afaire,' was his comment, 'bot I am swre thes wes the warmest day I saw the yeare.'⁶

The confidence displayed by the Whigs, and reports

¹ Russell says the assailants lost 'four or five men only,' and that the troops lost 'thrice as many.' Ross reported to Linlithgow: 'the number of thes that are killed I can not condescend wpon as yet, the town's people hurled ther dead bodies so quickly of the streit; we have taken a great many of ther wounded men and [are] still taking mor owt of ther howses they fled to. I blise god non of owr officers hes resaved any hurte, some few of owr sowldiers ar ill wounded, two of which only I think shall dye.' Creighton is therefore confirmed in his statement, that 'the king's party lost not so much as one man.' Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 71), while affecting to disbelieve the legend that the bodies of the dead (seven) Whigs were allowed to lie on the street and were prohibited burial, repeats that 'the seven dead bodies lay upon the street from eleven of the clock till night came on'; that the women at length took them up and dressed them for burial, and that the soldiers then 'turned the bodies out of their dead clothes, and went off with the linens.'

² Creighton, who dictated his reminiscences to Swift at a time when Claverhouse was a hero and Ross forgotten, represents Claverhouse as active in the repulse of the Gallowgate attack. It is clear, however, from Ross's despatch to Linlithgow, that Claverhouse's and the Earl of Home's troops were held in reserve in the Market Place, to act in case the barricades were rushed.

³ Creighton describes the spot as 'a field behind the high church, where they stayed until five in the afternoon.' Russell gives the spot as 'be-east the town about a mile.'

⁴ 'Many left the honest party,' says Russell, 'but drew up on Towcross moor.'

⁵ Ross and Creighton both make this statement. Russell states that the 'honest' party prepared to fight, but the troops withdrew. Wilson (*A true and impartial Relation*, p. 76) confirms him. Wodrow, however, states that 'they waited some time in the open fields without any appearance of a visit from the soldiers.'

⁶ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 166.

of their increasing numbers, were alike alarming to the authorities. Linlithgow's earliest plan had been to concentrate the small force at his disposal at Glasgow, Stirling, and Edinburgh.¹ He now resolved to draw his forces together at Stirling, and thence to march to the West. On 4th June he set out from Edinburgh. Ross and Claverhouse were instructed to evacuate Glasgow and to fall back on Stirling.² On 3rd June they marched to Kilsyth. The next day (4th June) found them near Falkirk, where fresh orders reached them.³ They were bidden by Linlithgow, who lay at Falkirk on the night of the 4th, to join him next morning at Bonnybridge,⁴ and to return with him towards Glasgow. Its evacuation, as must have been foreseen, had laid it at the mercy of the rebels. Linlithgow's strategy, in fact, is open to criticism. To concentrate at Stirling, and thereby to denude both Edinburgh and Glasgow of their troops, sacrificed the latter, and exposed the former to danger should the enemy repeat the tactics of the Pentland rising.⁵ Linlithgow was wise not to risk the safety of his scattered units, but his choice of Stirling for concentration is unintelligible, save upon the score of over-timidity.

On the morning of 5th June Linlithgow effected a junction with Ross, Claverhouse, and the Stirling troops at Bonnybridge. He found himself with about eighteen

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 167.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 168. Linlithgow had no artillery, and his equipment was otherwise incomplete. See *ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 170.

³ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 83.

⁴ In his narrative of the rebellion Linlithgow calls it 'a place called Larbour some two miles from falkirk' (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 168). In his letter to the Chancellor (quoted in Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 83) he gives the 'bridge of Bonny' as the rendezvous.

⁵ In his letter to the Chancellor, Linlithgow gives the danger to Edinburgh as the ground for his change of plans. In his narrative of the rebellion he dwells upon his desire to anticipate the rebels at Glasgow as his chief object. Both contingencies should certainly have been foreseen.

hundred horse, dragoons, and foot.¹ That night his force lay at Kilsyth. A communication from the Glasgow magistrates met him there. They reported the Whigs to be still about Bothwell Bridge and Hamilton, in number about seven thousand. A couple of soldiers whom Linlithgow sent out to gain intelligence brought similar information. Sending out a party of the Horse Guards to reconnoitre, Linlithgow ventured to make a further and final step forward.² By midday on 6th June he was at Kirkintilloch. His reconnoitring party had returned, and reported that Glasgow was already occupied. The rumoured strength of the rebels increased in steady *crescendo*. Linlithgow believed that eight thousand horse and foot, 'if not more,' faced him. To engage 'mad zealots,' as he called them, on unequal terms was to court disaster. Assuming the inequality, he was undoubtedly wise. On the other hand, to retreat might entail results hardly less dangerous than defeat. The position was difficult, and Linlithgow sought the advice of his officers. If not unanimous, at least the majority counselled withdrawal. Early in the afternoon of 6th June Linlithgow announced his intention to fall back upon Stirling.³ On the same date the Council ordered him to return to Edinburgh.⁴ Drumclog was only five days old, and Claverhouse's interpretation of it fully confirmed. The rebellion was already out of hand.

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 168.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 168, and Linlithgow's letter of 6th June 1679 to the Chancellor, in Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 83.

³ Linlithgow's despatch from Kirkintilloch declares that 'the whole officers' counselled him to retreat. In his narrative of the rebellion he states that 'three or four' were of another opinion. There is probably the nucleus of a fact in the statement of the *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 8), that Claverhouse strongly opposed Linlithgow's retreat, and 'offered, with a thousand horse and foot, to disperse the rebels, or never to return himself alive.'

⁴ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 84. Linlithgow received the order early on the morning of 7th June (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 169).

Meanwhile Glasgow and the country surrounding it lay at the mercy of an army growing in numbers, but leaderless and divided. But for the grimness of the issue, the tragedy of Bothwell Bridge has an aspect of comedy which the author of *Old Mortality* has barely exaggerated. A mob of devoted souls, prating of 'testimonies,' but divided as to the character of them; a part of them blinded by their earliest success into resolution to continue; part of them, more discerning, intent upon negotiation as the prologue to hard blows and an ultimately certain defeat; acceptors of the Indulgence, rejectors of it, rubbing shoulders on the march, swaying round rival pulpits at sermon; and poised above all, military incompetence sufficient to damn the cause of archangels.

The morrow (3rd June) of their repulse at Glasgow found the Whigs two miles or so to the south of Hamilton.¹ In council they debated their defeat and its cause. The presence of Achan was feared and detected. One Thomas Greenridge, who had served under Dalziel at Rullion Green, was expelled the camp. Thence the host passed, purified, to Strathaven.² On the 4th, upon some alarm, occasioned probably by the exodus of the troops from Glasgow, the Whigs sought the shelter of Kypes Rig, but, the alarm proving false, drew back through Strathaven, and quartered at nightfall towards Kilbride.³ On the 5th the evacuation of Glasgow was known, and rumour of Linlithgow's ultra-cautious march towards Stirling may have reached them. That night they encamped at Kilbride.⁴ On the 6th they cautiously approached Glasgow, sending forward Captain Brown and a party of near two hundred to search for arms. The

¹ Kirkton, p. 448.

² Wilson, *A true and impartial Relation*, p. 76. See Kirkton, p. 447.

³ Kirkton, p. 451.

⁴ Wilson, p. 77.

royal troops were, however, reported in the neighbourhood. Brown feared an ambush, and called a halt. Five volunteers ventured in and found Glasgow defenceless. By nightfall the host was quartered in and about the city.¹

A fortnight of wrangling and indecision followed the Covenanters' entry into Glasgow. On 8th June, the octave of Drumclog, a 'very great convention' was held at Rutherglen.² The occasion served for the 'honest' or non-Indulgence officers to meet apart. A resolution to hold aloof from Welch and the moderates, until the latter had declared 'against all the defections and apostacies of the times,'³ was the outcome of their meeting. The next day, 9th June, found the leaders again in Glasgow.⁴ The rival factions met face to face in council. Both agreed upon the necessity for a public declaration of their position and aims. Neither could accept the other's drafting of it.⁵ Truce was cried for a few hours. On 10th June no council of war was held, but the two parties 'had a hot disputation, particularly concerning the indulgence.' At night the main body moved to Tollcross Moor.⁶ Welch and his party appear to have

¹ Wilson, p. 78. Brown was clearly alarmed by Linlithgow's reconnoitring party of Horse Guards (see above, p. 64). Russell (Kirkton, p. 451) gives the Whig strength on 6th June as 'near six thousand.' An obviously exaggerated account of the behaviour of the Whigs in Glasgow is given in *A true Relation of the inhuman Cruelties lately acted by the Rebels in Scotland. With the Manner of their Taking of Glascough. Being the Substance of a Letter sent to a Person of Quality. London. Printed by A. M. and R. R. 1679* (Brit. Mus. G. 5016). Napier (vol. ii. p. 229) fearlessly quotes its statements as authoritative.

² James Ure of Shargarton's narrative, in *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 456. Ure's story is enhanced in interest by the annotations of Robert Hamilton.

³ Wilson, p. 80.

⁴ *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 458.

⁵ Wilson, p. 82.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 84. On the 10th they buried at Glasgow the heads of those who had been executed for taking part in the Pentland rising. See *A further Account of the Proceedings against the Rebels in Scotland since the Arrival of His Grace the Duke of Monmouth. Communicated in a Letter to a Person of Quality. From Edenburgh. Dated the 19th of this instant June 1679* (Brit. Museum. T. 3* 70).

remained in Glasgow. On the 11th some of the 'honest' officers rode in, as from Balak to Balaam, to invite a curse upon the hated Indulgence, but without success.¹ The next day, 12th June, the council of war was summoned to Hamilton. Its session was stormy. The necessity for a public Declaration was admitted, for recruits would not flock to a vague watchword. Each side produced a draft to its wishes. But there unanimity ceased.² The debate was continued on the morrow, 13th June. An alarm, that their outposts at Bothwell Bridge were in menace, enabled Welch to snatch a victory, 'upon persuasion of some that pressed much for peace.' At Hamilton Cross he affixed a Declaration, inadequate, the 'honest' party deemed, in all save its condemnation of prelacy.³ The same night the distracted host marched to Old Monkland.⁴ On the 14th the officers met. The alarm of yesterday had pointed the need of union. It was the eve of the Sabbath, and Welch and his associates were entreated 'to preach against all the sins of the time, particularly the indulgence.' Welch protested the liberty and inspiration of the pulpit and rejected lay interference.⁵ The next day, Sunday, 15th June, contention reached its height. Hamilton's party sought to gag the ministers, 'and told them, if they did not preach, name and surname, against the indulgence, they should preach none.'⁶ Rival Boanerges struggled for the pulpits, 'the people pleading a power to call what ministers they pleased; so when the day was far spent they preached at

¹ Wilson, p. 85.

² Kirkton, p. 457. Hamilton's party, also, clearly designed to remove the officers of the Welch faction from their commands. See *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 461.

³ Kirkton, p. 457. The Declaration was also published at Glasgow. See Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 94; *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 464; Wilson, p. 89.

⁴ Wilson, p. 90.

⁵ Kirkton, p. 459.

⁶ *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 466; Wilson, p. 90.

several places where they pleased.'¹ On the same day Monmouth set out from London to quell the rebellion.² His task cannot be said to have promised much difficulty.

Monmouth's departure from London marked the completion of anxious preparations by the Government. On the date of Linlithgow's recall to Edinburgh (6th June) the Scottish Council had urged Lauderdale that fresh troops were necessary if the rebellion was to be stemmed.³ They had already (5th June) called out the militia, and on the 8th directed them to rendezvous at Leith and Stirling.⁴ Freemen and heritors were similarly summoned on the 7th.⁵ On the 9th the Earl of Mar received orders to secure the passages of the Forth, and to seize all persons in arms passing over it.⁶ On the 11th Lauderdale sent welcome intelligence to the anxious Council. He announced that a regiment of foot, with cannon and ammunition, was ordered to Berwick by sea. Two more foot regiments, three regiments of horse, eight hundred dragoons, and three troops of grenadiers were also to be despatched. The Duke of Monmouth had been appointed to command in chief.⁷ On the 15th the army about Edinburgh was of sufficient strength to justify an immediate advance.

¹ Kirkton, p. 459.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 99. Fountainhall (*Historical Observes*, p. 111) records a rumour that the sending of Monmouth to Scotland 'was an artifice and stratagem of York's to draw him under the *premunire* of an English Act of Parliament, made in 1643, and yet standing unrepealed, declaring it hy treason to invade the Kingdome of Scotland without the authority of the Parliament of England, and to shun which Monmouth then took a remission.'

³ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 73, 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 85. The Whigs were moving to their rendezvous in another direction also. On 10th June the Master of Ross encountered a party at Gala Water (Napier, vol. i. p. 280). The *Memoirs of 1714* (p. 7) call the spot 'Beuly Bog,' and give the sole credit of the achievement to Claverhouse, who may have been present.

⁷ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 86. Monmouth's commission, dated 12th June 1679, and his instructions, dated 14th June 1679, are in the *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. fol. 158, 159.

Besides the standing forces, there were present the shire levies of Fife, Berwick, East and Mid Lothian, and Edinburgh. The Angus militia and one of the Perthshire regiments were expected at Edinburgh; the other had proceeded to Stirling to join the Stirlingshire force.¹ Heavy rains and the incompleteness of the artillery equipment delayed the advance until the morning of the 17th.² That night Linlithgow encamped in Kirkhill park, near Broxburn. On the 18th the more distant shire levies were to join him at Blackburn. His total force he put at about five thousand.³

Monmouth reached Edinburgh on 18th June,⁴ and was at once sworn of the Council.⁵ On the 19th he joined the army at Blackburn, and assumed the command.⁶ He advanced on the 20th to Muirhead, near Kirk of Shotts, where Cromwell had lain nearly a generation before. The Council had a despatch from him from there. He intended, he declared, 'to be within a mile of the enemy' the next day.⁷ On the evening of the 21st he advanced upon Bothwell Bridge. Major Oglethorp, with five troops of dragoons and Lord Home's troop of horse, led the van. Monmouth followed with the rest of the cavalry—Claver-

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 87.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 170.

³ Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 99, 100. Linlithgow appears to have had eight militia regiments—those, namely, of East Lothian, the Merse (Berwick), two Perthshire, two Fifeshire, Angus, and Edinburgh.

⁴ *The London Gazette*, No. 1418.

⁵ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 99.

⁶ *The London Gazette*, No. 1419; *A further Account of the Proceedings against the Rebels in Scotland since the Arrival of His Grace the Duke of Monmouth. Communicated in a Letter to a Person of Quality from Edinburgh. Dated the 19th of this instant June.* Another account has: 'His Grace the Duke of Monmouth came up to the Kings Army on Thursday the 19th day of June, which then lay at Moorhead beyond Blackborne' (*An exact Relation of the Defeat of the Rebels at Bothwell-Brigde. Published by Authority. In the Savoy: Printed by Tho. Newcomb, 1679.* Brit. Museum T. 3*). Muirhead is some six miles W. by S. of Blackburn.

⁷ Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 100, 101.

house's troop among them—and three hundred commanded foot. Linlithgow led the infantry.¹

The preparation to avenge Drumclog has been displayed. What of those whom it threatened? The advance of the army found the Whig divisions accentuated. On 16th, 17th, and 18th June their force lay on Shawhead Moor, and its officers met in frequent and acrimonious debate.² The Hamilton faction desired 'a day of humiliation.' Welch and his party protested. 'The whole army was put in confusion,' and at nightfall on the 18th drew back through Airdrie, crossed Bothwell Bridge, and encamped on Hamilton Moor.³ The 19th brought rumour of Monmouth's advance,⁴ but the wrangling continued. On the 20th reinforcements arrived from Galloway. Favourers of the Indulgence, they strengthened Welch and his adherents. Hamilton received and rejected a written statement of their desires. Its tenor was, a joint undertaking to stand by Welch's Hamilton Declaration (13th June), and to postpone consideration of their differences until a free Parliament and Assembly should be summoned.⁵ The urgent need for agreement had immediate emphasis. In the early hours of the 21st the Whig outpost at the ford eastward of Hamilton was attacked. James Cleland was shot in the thigh, and died of the wound.⁶ A few hours later the two factions met in

¹ *An exact Relation of the Defeat of the Rebels. The Memoirs of 1714* (p. 8) state that Monmouth marched 'on Saturday at night, or rather Sunday [22nd June] morning.'

Oglethorp, who led the van, was Major Theophilus Oglethorp, commissioned on 11th June 1679 to the Earl of Feversham's Royal Regiment of Dragoons (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. i. p. 255).

² See *Memoirs of William Veitch*, pp. 469, 470; Wilson, pp. 92, 93; Kirkton, p. 460.

³ Kirkton, p. 462; *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 469.

⁴ Wilson, p. 96.

⁵ Kirkton, p. 462; Wilson, p. 96; *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 472.

⁶ Kirkton, p. 463; Wilson, p. 97. Monmouth, on his arrival at Blackburn on 19th June, had sent forward Major Oglethorp with a detachment of horse and dragoons (*London Gazette*, No. 1419).

final council. The one was anxious to purge the army of its Erastian elements. The other refused to fight under the officers chosen before the arrival of the Galloway men had given the moderates a preponderance. The debate was heated. Hamilton and his party withdrew. The moderates sat on to frame a petition to Monmouth. Its terms did not satisfy the other side. After much negotiation—‘a hot debate and a new separating’—it was agreed that the framing of it should be entrusted to a few representatives of both sides.¹ Within a few hours the host, leaderless,² distracted, unprepared, blundered into battle. The narrative of one of their number is eloquent: ‘Our men, with our divisions, slipped away still from us; for it was our common discourse that we could do no good. . . . We were not concerned with an enemy, as if there had not been one within 1000 miles of us. There were none went through the army to see if we wanted powder or ball. I do really think there were few or none that had both powder and ball in all the army to shoot twice.’ ‘A little before day,’ adds Ure of Shargarton, ‘we saw the enemy kindling their matches a great way off.’³

To an army of sound *moral* and effective equipment the position which the Covenanters held might have given victory, even against superior numbers. Success at

¹ Kirkton, p. 463; *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 473; Wilson, p. 97.

² According to the information of Robert Smith of Dunscore (*A true Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against the late King*, p. 119), the election of officers was postponed till the following day, but was prevented by Monmouth's early attack. The officers had been chosen on 17th June before the Galloway contingent arrived (Wilson, p. 93). It is clear from all the accounts that no fresh election was made on the 20th, and that the Galloway men rejected those already chosen. See Howie, *Scots Worthies*, vol. i. p. 583.

³ Ure of Shargarton's narrative, in *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 474. James Nimmo, who joined the army before Bothwell Bridge, writes: ‘But when I came I was not halfe ane hour there untill I feared the Lord was not with them, seeing no Authoretie in discipline . . . [and] perceaving much deviation among thos that should have guided the rest’ (*Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo*, p. 12).

Drumclog they owed to the difficulty of frontal attack, and the impossibility of a flanking or enveloping movement. In the coming fight the conditions were repeated. The Clyde ringed them in on the east, whence Monmouth approached them. On their front they were similarly protected, save for the narrow bridge which spanned the Clyde at Bothwell.¹

About three o'clock in the morning of 22nd June Monmouth's advanced guard swung into view round Bothwell Church and drew down towards the bridge. The main body was still about a mile in the rear.² At the earliest alarm the Whigs took position between Hamilton and the bridge, in two bodies. Their main body drew up on the height of the valley, near the Little Park. A smaller body, half a mile or so in advance, kept the bridge.³ Throughout the night it had been held by two companies of foot and three troops of horse.⁴ When Monmouth's advanced party was sighted, a request for reinforcements was sent to the rear. The Stirling, Glasgow, Lennox, and Galloway foot went forward. A troop of the Galloway

¹ According to Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 132), Monmouth's resolution to force Bothwell Bridge was contrary to the opinion of his officers, who suggested crossing the river 'by easy fords.' Sir Walter Scott, in a note to the passage, remarks that there were no easy fords in the neighbourhood, though the river in parts was fordable. Creighton's condemnation of Monmouth's plan as 'a preposterous and absurd resolution' seems uncalled for, but is quite in keeping with the general tone of his memoirs. Monmouth had to get his guns over the river.

² *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 476. Ure of Shargarton describes this advanced party as 'four companies of dragoons, and the king's troop of the guard, and the duke William's troop.' The main body, he says, was observed 'marching north-west, for they came about because of their cannon which was with them.'

³ 'The Rebels were drawn up in two Lines, or Bodies rather, half a Mile one from the other; one near the Bridge, which was the weakest in number; the other near their Camp, as high as the Little Park' (*London Gazette*, No. 1420).

⁴ Wilson, p. 102. Hackston of Rathillet, Henry Hall of Haugh-head, and Andrew Turnbull commanded the troops of horse. The two companies of foot were commanded by John Fowler and Alexander Ross. See Kirkton, p. 465.

horse formed in their rear, and the single effective piece of ordnance they possessed was dragged down to command the bridge-way.¹

By seven o'clock in the morning² Monmouth and his main body faced their opponents; the bridge, guarded and barricaded, intervening. Some desultory shots had already been fired, with casualties on both sides,³ before Monmouth rode forward to reconnoitre. On his way to Oglethorp's advanced post 'within Pistol-shot' of the bridge, he was informed that the enemy desired to parley.⁴ Both factions were at length unanimous in desiring to approach Monmouth,⁵ though Hamilton's assent was given reluctantly, and at the last moment.⁶ Monmouth could do no less than accept a parley. He signified his willingness, and hostilities were meanwhile delayed.

¹ Ure of Shargarton, who brought up the earliest reinforcements to the bridge, says: 'I drew up hard upon the water-side against the west end of the bridge. Glasgow, when they came down, drew up on my right hand, and Lennox on my left; there came also down about 200 Galloway foot: they had no other arms but pikes and halberts, with four pair of colours, and took ground on our right hand farthest from our enemy. There came one troop of their horse and drew up behind us, and then our cannon was drawn down, being a field piece and two muskets of found unmounted [i.e. without supporting frames], so these were not made use of' (*Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 475).

As to the Whigs' artillery, Russell (Kirkton, p. 467) confirms Ure in his statement that it consisted of a single gun, 'a brazen piece.' John Blackader (*Memoirs*, p. 244), who was not present at the battle, gives the Whigs 'only one cannon or two at most.' A letter from Edinburgh, of 24th June 1679 (*A further and more particular Account of the total Defeat of the Rebels in Scotland*), states: 'The Rebels had 4 pieces of Canon, one of which they threw into the River of Clyd, the other 3 were taken.' In the well-known picture of the battle (Kirkton, p. 468) the Whigs are represented with only one gun.

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 171.

³ Kirkton, p. 466; *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 476.

⁴ *An exact Relation of the Defeat of the Rebels at Bothwell-Bridge. Published by Authority.*

⁵ Kirkton, p. 467.

⁶ Wilson, p. 102. Hamilton (Michael Shields, *Faithful Contendings displayed*, p. 195) states that he signed the petition without reading it, believing that Donald Cargill had drawn it up.

To the disappointment of Hamilton and the extremists,¹ the petition was carried to Monmouth by two of the moderate party—David Hume and a Galloway laird named Murdoch.² The petition itself, a statement of grievances addressed to one ‘off whois princely clemency and naturall aversione from shedding of christiane blood we have had so savorie a report,’ merely desired Monmouth’s leave to send ‘some of our number to adress them selfs to your grace To lay oppine our heart in this mater.’³ It is not easy to understand what practical and beneficial result was anticipated from the opportunity they sought.⁴ There was an obvious condition which

¹ According to Russell (Kirkton, p. 466) they had chosen two of their number for the purpose, ‘but their going was prevented by Mr. [David] Hume; and a Galloway laird, Murdoch, sent a drummer to desire hearing, which was granted.’ He adds, that his party, before the departure of the deputation, endeavoured to force hostilities.

² Robert Smith of Dunscore (*A true Account*, etc., p. 119) gives the name of David Hume’s colleague as ‘Captain Mackculloch.’ Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 106) calls him ‘laird of Kaitloch,’ i.e. William Fergusson.

³ The petition, bearing Robert Hamilton’s signature, is printed in *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 260.

⁴ Monmouth obviously could not go beyond the letter of his instructions. Those instructions were unknown to Wodrow, who, while admitting (vol. iii. p. 99) that he had never seen them, ventured to describe them as ‘not altogether unfavourable to presbyterians.’ I extract the following passages from Monmouth’s instructions in the *Warrant Book, Scotland* (vol. v. fol. 159):—

‘3. By your Commission you are authorised to Grant Pardons to all or as many of the Rebels as are now in Armes against us, without any limitation. And seing this Rebellion was openly declared at Rugland upon the 29th day of May last past, you may as you think fit give absolute Pardon to any person or persons for all that was done there or any Act of Rebellion occurring thereafter; Excepting only such as were legally forfeited for Crimes before that time, as also excepting those who were guilty of the late horrid murder of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.

‘4. You shall cause execute Martiall Law, even unto Death or other punishments conforme to the Articles of Warre Signed by us the 26th febr^y 1674 and thereafter printed & published, and againe authorised & reprinted by our Warrant dated the 11th Jan^y 1674 by which our Militia Forces & others called to our assistance are expressly Subjected to those Articles.

‘5. And as you have power to reclaime such as you find capable of our mercy, conforme to our 3^d Instruction, So you shall pursue the obstinate

must have been foreseen, and Monmouth named it: With rebels he could hold no communication. As a preliminary he required them to lay down their arms.¹ With this answer Hume and his colleague returned across the bridge.² 'And hang next,' was Hamilton's commentary when Monmouth's order to surrender their arms was reported to him.³

Monmouth did not await a reply to his ultimatum before completing his arrangements for attack. His cannon were brought into position to command the bridge. Hardly were they placed when the enemy beat a second parley. Major Maine was sent to learn their resolution. Monmouth, they opined, had brought 'terms of accommodation from England.' They desired to know their purport. Maine carried Monmouth's refusal. Hume

Rebells who shall remain in Armes, with ffire & Sword, and all the extremities of Warre, untill you shall absolutely reduce them.'

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 172; Kirkton, p. 466.

With little measure of truth, so far as can be gathered, Monmouth is represented by later writers as either offering gentler terms, or as having been influenced to harshness by others. Charles James Fox (*History of James the Second*, p. 114) says that he carried sealed orders not to treat with the rebels, 'lest the generous mildness of his nature should prevail.' The *Memoirs* of 1714 state absurdly (p. 9) that Monmouth, 'by his Majesty's special commission, offered them every third church in the kingdom, with many other privileges, providing they would lay down their arms, and return home to their respective dwellings, and live quietly under the Government.' Blackader, who was not present at the battle, states that Monmouth inclined to give 'a more favourable answer. But several Scots noblemen did so stir up and instigate the duke, that they dissuaded him from hearkening, or granting them any cessation, but presently to fall on with force, unless they should cast down their arms' (*Memoirs*, p. 245). Scott in *Old Mortality* has carelessly adopted Blackader's statement. He represents Monmouth's sinister advisers as Claverhouse, whose military rank he misrepresents, and Dalziel, who was not present at the battle.

² Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 106) interpolates the absurd story that the Whig envoys approached Monmouth 'in disguise,' but Claverhouse 'having some jealousy [suspicion] of them, watched them upon their return, and having got some hint of them, saluted them by their names.' Scott has adopted this episode in Claverhouse's recognition of and conversation with Henry Morton.

³ *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 477.

and his colleague withdrew, and Monmouth gave orders to engage.¹

A brief artillery duel opened the battle.² Despite their inferiority the issue of it was encouraging to the Whigs. Monmouth's gunners were driven from their guns.³ Quickly rallying, they again opened fire on the bridge, while Major Oglethorp and a storming party had orders to entrench until the guns had effected a breach. The entrenchment was not complete when the defenders of the bridge were observed in confusion.⁴ Oglethorp and his dragoons were at once sent forward, and after 'a brief

¹ *An exact Relation of the Defeat of the Rebels*, which adds that Monmouth had refused to grant a cessation of preparations during negotiations, but promised that whenever he should hear their drum bringing him their proposals in writing he would stop the fight. Russell (Kirkton, p. 466) says that in the interval between the two deputations Monmouth had signified by an English trumpeter his intention to give them half an hour to make their preparations. John Blackader (*Memoirs*, p. 246) states that Monmouth gave them 'the space of half an hour, or an hour at most,' in which to lay down their arms.

² In this account of the battle I follow *An exact Relation of the Defeat of the Rebels at Bothwell-Bridge*. Published by Authority.

³ Russell (Kirkton, p. 467) declares, that had not the bridge been 'stopt with an baracade for defence,' Monmouth's abandoned guns might have been taken. He adds that the gunners were rallied by David Leslie with the cry, 'Would they fleg for country fellows?' Ure of Shargarton (*Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 477) says that Monmouth's troops retreated, 'both horse and foot, near five pair of butts.'

⁴ Blackader (*Memoirs*, p. 246) writes: 'It was resolved, as is said, by Robert Hamilton, that the party should be called back from the bridge, and join with the body, that the enemy might come over and give them battle on the fair field.' A similar statement appears in Robert Law's *Memorials*, p. 151. Russell gives no hint of any order to retire, and from the *Exact Relation* it is clear that the defenders of the bridge yielded to superior force, and contested its possession hand to hand with the advancing troops. In the Privy Council's narrative to Lauderdale (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 172) it is also stated, that after the play of the artillery, 'a party attackt the bridge, and after some short dispute caryd it.' Here, as elsewhere, truth is obliterated beneath the jealousy and recriminations of the two factions. Hamilton's incompetency may be allowed, but accusations of cowardice (see *Memoirs of John Blackader*, p. 247, and Robert Law, *Memorials*, p. 151) are probably exaggerated. A similar and unfounded charge is brought against Monmouth by Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 133).

dispute'¹ the bridge was gained. Oglethorp's orders were not to advance beyond the bridge. But in the heat of pursuit the order was disobeyed, and the victors pressed 'up some part of the rising ground' towards the Whigs' main body. They found themselves in some jeopardy. Perceiving their pursuers small in number, and unsupported, the Whigs rallied. Oglethorp was driven back 'to the houses at the foot of the Bridge.' Reinforcements were hurried to his support—Linlithgow's son, Lord Livingstone, and three hundred foot. Once more the Whigs were driven back upon their main body.² Thereupon Monmouth himself crossed the bridge at the head of Linlithgow's regiment of Guards, and of his own troop. With the troops already over he advanced to the ridge of the valley and halted, awaiting the rest of his force. The armies faced each other, 'but two carabine's shot asunder.'³ A haphazard and leaderless effort was made by the Whigs to retrieve the day. Monmouth's position seemed assailable on his right, where his artillery was placed, and some 'hollow ground' offered advantage. Posting a body of the Atholl Highlanders on the 'hollow ground,' supported by five troops of English dragoons, Monmouth was still forming his second line when the Highlanders on his right found themselves engaged.⁴ Driven back upon the dragoons, their position was relieved by the artillery, which opened fire on the Whig left. A round or two

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 172. According to Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 134), it took five hours for the army to cross the bridge.

² Ure of Shargarton's narrative (*Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 478) describes this movement shortly: 'My Lord Lithgow's son came down to the bridge with about 500 of red coats too, and we still fired on both sides.' The 'houses at the foot of the Bridge' appear very clearly in the picture of the battle.

³ *Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 480.

⁴ Russell's account (Kirkton, p. 468) states that the attack was directed chiefly against Monmouth's artillery. Thomas Weir of Greenridge is represented as its leader. Possibly he was the Thomas Greenridge already alluded to (see above, p. 65).

threw it into confusion. Their horse on that quarter rode headlong from the field. Those on the right soon followed them.¹ The foot joined the stampede, and the rout was complete. Ordering Oglethorp, Claverhouse, and the cavalry to follow in hot pursuit, Monmouth followed with the foot, and halted about a mile towards Hamilton. It was about ten in the morning when a messenger was despatched to Edinburgh, bearing news of the victory.²

Sober history competes unequally with romance, and the Claverhouse of Bothwell Bridge is, perhaps irrevocably, the Claverhouse of *Old Mortality*. His features are familiar, to the confounding of fact. Unknown as he was, so far, to the majority of his countrymen, with but eight months' undistinguished service in Scotland behind him, he appears proleptically in the character which the Killing

¹ Ure of Shargarton writes: 'My men fired on the dragoons, and they at them, and their cannons played; the foot, hearing this, and being troubled a little with the horse, fled; and so they all fled, and not a man was standing on all the left hand. I cried to my men to make away. The right hand stood a little, but not so long as to put on a pair of gloves; so they all fled, and I turned with all my speed' (*Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 481).

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 172. The Whig losses are given by the *Exact Relation* as between seven and eight hundred killed, and over twelve hundred prisoners. On 24th June the Council were without exact details, but believed the rebels had lost eight hundred killed and over eleven hundred prisoners (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 114). Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 134) puts their loss at seven or eight hundred killed, and fifteen hundred prisoners. The *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 9) declare that about fifteen hundred were made prisoners and a larger number killed. Among their own writers estimates vary more widely. Blackader (*Memoirs*, p. 249) speaks of about four hundred killed and above twelve hundred prisoners. Law (*Memorials*, p. 151) gives them eight hundred killed and three hundred prisoners. Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 108) mentions about four hundred killed and twelve hundred prisoners. The most reliable contemporary accounts on both sides put their total strength at between six and seven thousand. It may be safely asserted that their loss was nearly one-third of that number.

Accounts of the battle, which I have not seen, are calendared among the Hamilton MSS. in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xi., App. pt. vi. p. 162, No. 98. The laird of Torfoot's narrative is in Howie, *Scots Worthies*, vol. i. pp. 594-97. It displays the egotistical and verbose qualities of his account of Drumlog.

Time, fairly or unfairly, gave him six years later, He, plain captain of horse until the end of 1682, is styled colonel in the fight, and is promoted general on the morrow of it. He and old Tom Dalziel—who was not even present at the battle¹—are named as those appointed to check Monmouth's assumed inclination to treat with the rebels. Finally, impelled by desire to avenge his cornet's death and his own defeat at Drumclog, Claverhouse, in flagrant disobedience to his commander's orders, and with the cry, 'Kill, kill!' urges his troop through the flying and helpless ranks of the enemy, greedy for blood and relentless. Such is Scott's picture of him.

Had Claverhouse ended his career at Bothwell Bridge, history would have recorded little concerning him, and, recording little, would have added nought. But he lived to epitomise two tragic crises sharply cleaving his countrymen's sympathy; and inevitably, the career and character of him in the making are focussed to the conflicting and completed record he left. At Bothwell Bridge he was a plain captain of horse; a subordinate, whose duty it was to execute orders, unprivileged to inspire or control the policy which directed them. In the contemporary and

¹ Dalziel's stern reproof of Monmouth after the battle is familiar to readers of *Old Mortality*. Its foundation rests upon a passage in Creighton's most unreliable narrative, some of whose inaccuracies Scott himself corrected in his edition of Swift (vol. x. p. 137). The real facts as to Dalziel and his relation to Monmouth are as follows: On 15th June 1679, upon receiving news of Monmouth's appointment to command in chief, the Scots Privy Council, at Linlithgow's suggestion, proposed Dalziel's name to Lauderdale for appointment as lieutenant-general (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 87). On 19th June Dalziel's commission as lieutenant-general was dated (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. fol. 168). On 22nd June, the date of Bothwell fight, it reached Edinburgh by flying packet (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 101). On the same date, and after the news of the victory had reached Edinburgh, his commission was handed to Dalziel by the Chancellor (*Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 173). On 1st November 1679, Monmouth's commission having expired, Dalziel's succession to the command was intimated to the Council (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. fol. 314).

authoritative accounts of the battle it is not even possible to determine the position of his troop. In the *Exact Relation*, published 'by authority,' his name is but once mentioned, and only as one of several officers ordered to pursue the rebel rout. Neither Russell nor Ure of Shargarton singles him out for distinctive execration. The only hint of his position in the fight is Creichton's statement that he led the cavalry on the right, when Monmouth was over the bridge, and the last phase of the fight was imminent.¹ Of distinctive achievement, other than his resolute pursuit, a newsletter of 24th June 1679 records the capture, 'with his own hands,' of two standards.'² That is the sum of the facts.

The conditions of the fight at Bothwell Bridge denied the cavalry the chance of service until the precipitate flight of the enemy unloosed them in pursuit. Claverhouse's energetic participation in it is generally recorded.³

¹ *Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 134. Claverhouse was not in command.

² *A further and more particular Account of the total Defeat of the Rebels in Scotland*.

³ The ballads, in particular, single him out. The following illustrations may serve. In the 'Battell of Bodwell-Bridge, or, the Kings Cavilleers Trump' (Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*, 2nd series, No. 35) Claverhouse is thus alluded to:

' And when the Whig sejors began for to flee,
The good Captain Clavers after them would be,
And no man with him but his own Companie,
When they ran from the Battell of Bodwell.'

Sir Walter Scott (*Poetical Works*, vol. ii. pp. 233, 240) quotes from Wilson's 'Clyde':

' But fierce Dundee, inflamed with deadly hate,
In vengeance for the great Montrose's fate,
Let loose the sword, and to the hero's shade,
A barbarous hecatomb of victims paid.'

And from 'The Battle of Bothwell Bridge':

" 'O hold your hand," then Monmouth cry'd,
" Give quarters to yon men for me! "—
But wicked Claver'se swore an oath,
His Cornet's death revenged sud be.

He was still smarting under his recent reverse. It would be foolish to imagine that the keenness of his pursuit was not whetted thereby. The point is, however: Was he acting under orders, or, as in the picture of him that Scott presents, did he wantonly exceed them? In other words, did Monmouth connive at the escape of his routed enemy by forbidding pursuit? That he did so is a tradition which persistent iteration has crystallised to a fact.¹ But there is not a shred of evidence in support of it. It is specifically stated in the official account of the battle, that so soon as the Whig horse began to run, Monmouth ordered Oglethorp and his dragoons, Claverhouse and Major Maine with their troops, and the Earl of Eglinton with his troop of volunteers, to pursue, 'whilst he [Monmouth] followed himself with the rest of the Army so fast as not to be put in disorder.'² The messenger who brought news of the victory to Edinburgh carried with him not a hint of any backwardness on Monmouth's part,

"O hold your hand," then Monmouth cry'd,
 "If anything you'll do for me;
 Hold up your hand, you cursed Graeme,
 Else a rebel to your King ye'll be."

The earliest reference to Claverhouse's energy in pursuit is in the Edinburgh newsletter of 24th June 1679 (*A further and more particular Account*, etc.), which states that his troop, 'remembering the slaughter the Rebels made amongst them on the 29th of May (*sic*), resolved now to have full satisfaction, and therefore utterly refused either to give or take Quarter.'

¹ Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 134) and Robert Smith of Dunscore (*A true Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy*, p. 119) both affirm it. Neither is a reliable witness. Blackader (*Memoirs*, p. 247), whose knowledge of the battle was at second-hand, also states that Claverhouse disobeyed orders, and that he was compelled to desist by the Life Guards. The *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 9) by implication convey a similar fact.

² *An exact Relation*, etc. It will be observed that Monmouth did not employ the whole of his cavalry in the pursuit. Those mentioned were probably on his right wing. This, combined with the further fact, that Monmouth halted the rest of his army—that part of it which was not pursuing—after advancing about a mile, may possibly have conveyed an immediate impression which time and tradition have expanded.

or of unwillingness to push his victory home. Upon the information he conveyed, the Council, within a few hours of the battle, wrote to Lauderdale: 'Our army is still in persute of the rebels when Lundin came away.'¹ Claverhouse's asserted disregard of orders may fitly rest with the story of the Whig gallows² in the limbo of historical fictions.

The bubble blown at Rutherglen burst with Bothwell rout. While the survivors of the Whigs scattered for safety, Monmouth led his army through the district in which the enemy had so recently roamed at will. On 24th June he was near Strathaven.³ Reconnoitring parties were sent beyond Douglas and Newmilns, and confirmed the conclusion that the rebels would make no further head. On the 25th Monmouth found it possible to dismiss the militia levies, and requested the Council to recall others on their way to join him.⁴ On the 26th he returned to Edinburgh, and had the Council's thanks for his conduct of the brief campaign.⁵ On 3rd July he was treated

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 172.

² The most preposterous account of the gallows which the Whigs are supposed to have erected in their camp for the execution of their prisoners is in the newsletter of 24th June 1679 (*A further and more particular Account*): 'I must not forget to inform you, that there were likewise taken two pair of Gallows, which they carried along with them; One was like our ordinary Tools of that kinde, and this was for the poorer sort. But the other, being intended for the Gentry, was of a mode wholly new, and so curiously contrived, that I know not well how to describe it; 'Tis one streight piece of Wood with a Screw, having 12 or 15 branches which screwed up to the top, where there was a cross piece of wood full of long Iron Spikes, on which the Heads of Persons of Quality were to be fixt; and each of the aforesaid Branches had an Iron Hook at the end, to hang people on.' That a gallows did stand in or near the Whig camp is affirmed by Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 136) and Blackader (*Memoirs*, p. 249), both of whom state that the captured Whigs were guarded near it. Whether it was the ordinary ward gallows or not, it may be safely asserted that the Whigs had not erected it with the motive ascribed to them.

³ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 114.

⁴ *Ibid.* The militia levies from beyond the Forth were ordered home on 27th June (*ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 116).

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 116.

'at a very noble Collation of Meats and Fruits; after which the Lord Provost presented his Grace with the Freedom of this [Edinburgh] City, the Letters being in a large Gold Box.'¹ Three days later (6th July) the Duke took leave of the Council and departed for London.²

Monmouth's withdrawal from the army left to his subordinates the completion of the task he had begun. On 26th June 1679 the Council proclaimed the leaders of the rebellion, forbade any from harbouring them or others concerned in it, and commanded the pursuit of them as traitors.³ Claverhouse was early and late in the saddle. On 24th June news of his engagement with a party of fugitive rebels at Ayr reached Edinburgh.⁴ (The Council's proclamation of 26th June sanctioned a systematic search for those who so lately had menaced the State.) Wodrow follows the track of him in Ayrshire, Galloway, Nithsdale, and Dumfries.⁵ On 6th July he was hard on the heels of

¹ *The London Gazette*, No. 1423.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 117. The termination of Monmouth's commission may be briefly sketched here. A reaction at Court in York's favour brought about his disgrace, though there is certainly considerable exaggeration in the statement in James's memoirs (*Life of James the Second*, ed. J. S. Clarke, vol. i. p. 568), that Monmouth was found to have 'managed those fanatticks [in Scotland], as if he rather intended to put himself at the head of their forces, than repell them, and as if he had more inclination to court their friendship, than punish their rebellion.' On 12th September 1679 *The London Gazette* (No. 1442) announced: 'The King has thought fit to take from the Duke of Monmouth his Commission of General, His Majesty at present not thinking that Command necessary.' On 13th September 1679 Dalziel and the members of the army in Scotland were ordered to be informed of it (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. fol. 276). On 18th September 1679 intimation of the withdrawal of Monmouth's commission was received by the Scottish Council (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 154).

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 114.

⁴ *A further and more particular Account of the total Defeat of the Rebels.*

⁵ See Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 120-122. In *A Cloud of Witnesses for the royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ* (p. 394) the following inscription is recorded as appearing upon a headstone in the churchyard of Galston, Ayrshire:—

'Here lies Andrew Richmond, who was killed by bloody Graham of

John Balfour, Sharp's murderer, and others, near Minnigaff, in Kirkcudbright. On 8th July he was still on their track as they fled towards Carrick.¹ A fortnight later his service was suddenly interrupted. With the Council's permission he set out for London on 25th July. Linlithgow accompanied him. The Chancellor, the Earl of Rothes, followed a few days later.² Whether leave of absence was solicited by Claverhouse cannot be established. But that his advice and experience were desired in regard to the recent crisis seems clear. Popular tradition of a later time came to associate his visit with the disgrace of Monmouth.

'Then he's awa' to London town;
Aye e'en as fast as he can dree,
Fause witnesses he has wi' him ta'en,
And ta'en Monmouth's head frae his body.'³

The couplet is an illustration of popular mis-association of facts. The Scottish administration was approaching a crisis, and out of it the Duke of York emerged victorious. Claverhouse watched and certainly could not as yet guide these movements of high policy. But the change was wholly to his interest.⁴

Claverhouse, 1679; for his adherence to the word of God, and Scotland's Covenanted work of Reformation.' Wodrow does not mention Galston among the places visited by Claverhouse.

¹ Kirkton, p. 473.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 172.

³ Scott, *Poetical Works*, vol. ii. p. 240.

⁴ The author of *The Despot's Champion* (pp. 72-74) suggests that Claverhouse was in a position to testify to private bargaining between Monmouth and the Whig deputation to him at Bothwell. But there is really no ground for taking seriously the couplet quoted above, and the author's attempt to find a ground-fact of truth in it is ingenious but superfluous.

CHAPTER V

HELEN GRAHAM

FROM the suppression of the rebellion of 1679 to the commencement of 1682 there is a lull in Claverhouse's military activities. Few facts are recoverable concerning him in those eighteen months. His correspondence is scanty. Only six letters of his are extant, and they relate to his projected marriage to Helen Graham. In the course of the period he paid two visits to London, and, through the greater part of it, was seemingly in close attendance upon his patron, the Duke of York. That relationship is the key to his life in the few years that remained to him.

Unswerving loyalty to the Monarchy bound Claverhouse to his patron. The Covenant he discerned as a conflicting political creed, and gave his resolute service against it. Not even the flagrant misrule of James's reign could lessen the call upon his allegiance. That the interests of the Monarchy involved the maintenance of episcopacy in Scotland, Claverhouse accepted among other tenets of Stewartism. A 'fiery and skilful Episcopalian Jacobite' is Ranke's summary of him.¹ But that his religious convictions were loosely rooted, the accident of his political sympathies, cannot be admitted. Neither self-interest nor the example of his friends availed to entice him from the Protestant fold. Few men have drawn upon themselves a fuller measure of execration. Not one of his

¹ *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 550.

accusers, while lashing him as the persecutor of the 'honest,' ventures to challenge him as irreligious, or to suggest that his zeal was that of the mercenary, colourless and devoid of principle. Even the Devil's elegy on Grierson of Lag credits Claverhouse with devotion to his interests!¹ John Dick, in a hysterical passage, is fain to single out Claverhouse's love of horse-flesh for distinctive characterisation.² Unchallenged by his enemies, the testimony of his friends to the seriousness of his religious convictions gains in credibility. Balhaldy records his practice of holding family prayers, adding that a disposition so unexpected weighed with a Presbyterian observer of it to the climax of marriage with 'a high-flyeing church-

¹ The following lines appear in 'An Elegy in Memory of that Valiant Champion, Sir R. Grierson, late Laird of Lag, who died December 23rd, 1733. Wherein the Prince of Darkness commends many of his best Friends, who were the chief Managers of the late Persecution':—

'Brave Clavers flourish'd in his day;
And many lives did take away,

He to his utmost did contrive,
How he might make my kingdom thrive,
And how he might bring down all those,
That did my government oppose.

He was made Viscount of Dundee,
For venturing his all for me.
This honour he enjoy'd not long,
Soon after this he was ta'en home:
By sudden fate at last he fell,
At Killicrankie near Dunkel.
No longer he could serve me here;
But Lag survived for many a year.'

² 'And for that Blood Thirsty Wretch Claver-House, how thinks he to Shelter himself that Day? Is it Possible the Pitiful thing can be so Mad as to think to Secure himself by the Fleetness of his Horse (a Creature he has so much Respect for, that he Regarded more the loss of his Horse at Drumclog, than all the Men that fell there, and Sure on either Party there fell Prettier Men than himself); no Sure, though he could fall upon a Chymist that could Extract the Spirits out of all the Horse in the World, and Infuse them in his one, though he were on that Horse Back never so well Mounted, he need not Dream of Escaping' (John Dick, *A Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland*, 1684).

man'!¹ To Thomas Morer, the army chaplain, Claverhouse was 'a gentleman fix'd in his Religion,' and 'a great admirer of the Church-of-England-Worship'; his watchword, 'Conscience and Loyalty.'²

When Claverhouse arrived in London in the mid-summer of 1679 the Duke of York was still an exile in Holland. Monmouth's popularity and position seemed secure and unassailable. Before he left Scotland the Privy Council had issued (29th June 1679) a proclamation partially suspending the laws against conventicles.³ It is possible that the administration, trembling, as in 1666, at the magnitude of the danger it had withstood, oscillated to moderation. Or, it may be, the moment was chosen, when the Whigs were cloven asunder, to throw another apple of discord among them, and under the guise of toleration to isolate the irreconcilables from their less resolute, and now embittered, colleagues. Whatever the motive, on 27th July 1679, the Scottish Council received the draft of a royal proclamation of Indemnity. It offered pardon to all concerned in the two rebellions, and generally to religious dissidents, provided that within a reasonable period—18th September 1679 for those in the country, and 13th November 1679 for those out of it—they took oath not to resort again to arms. On 14th August 1679 the proclamation was published.⁴ On the same date the Council issued a royal proclamation instituting two circuit Courts for proceeding against 'the persons who were engaged in the said rebellion, and have not accepted, or shall not accept, the benefit of our indemnity.'⁵

¹ *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 278.

² *Short Account of Scotland*, p. 98.

³ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 140. It may be noticed that the execution of this commission in Dumfries and Kirkcudbright was entrusted to the sheriffs-principal, the Earls of Queensberry and Nithsdale, who had so recently been compelled to accept Claverhouse as their deputy.

The two proclamations were barely issued before an unforeseeable event wholly changed the situation. The King was attacked by fever. York came back at an urgent summons. Monmouth's brief ascendancy ended with his return. His relations to English nonconformity were well known. His Scottish *anabasis* and the measures that had followed it weighed lightly against the fact that he posed as York's rival in the succession. Within a fortnight of York's return his disgrace was decreed, his commission withdrawn.¹ In Scotland the change of masters was instantly felt. On 19th September 1679 Dalziel, who could be relied on to eschew the delicate tread of Agag, had a warrant to employ the troops against those who had not accepted the recent Indemnity.² On 13th November 1679 further minatory proclamations were issued, though the time for submission to the Indemnity was extended to 1st January 1680.³ The new policy was in train. On 24th November 1679 York

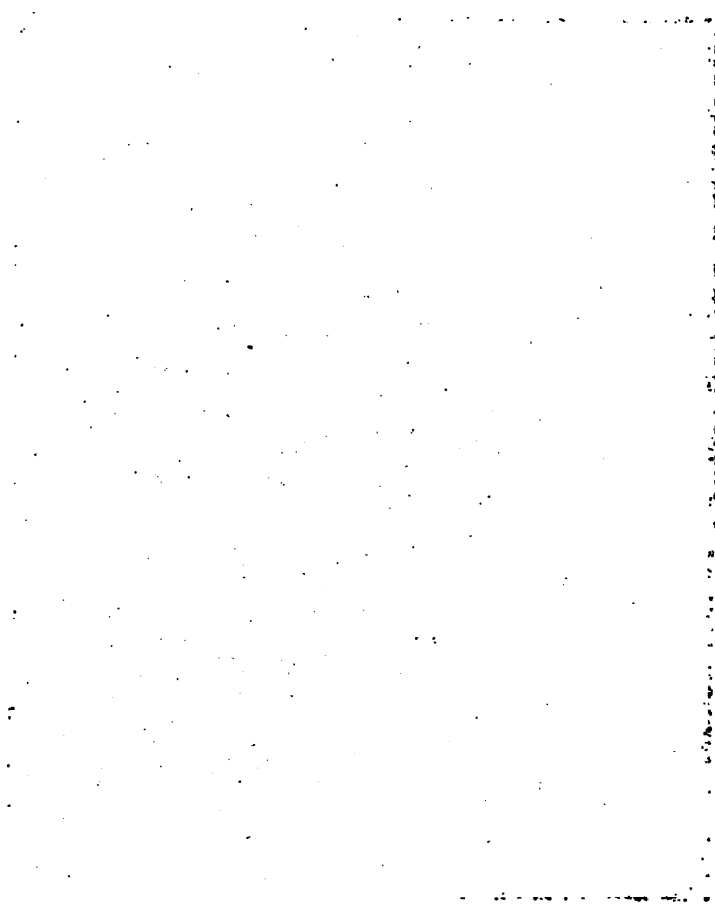
¹ See above, p. 83.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 154. On 1st November 1679 a royal letter intimated to the Scottish Council that, upon the withdrawal of Monmouth's commission, 'Wee looke upon our Lieutenant Generall [Dalziel] to be the Commander in chiefe of all our said forces' (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. fol. 314). Fountainhall (*Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, vol. i. p. 243) commenting on the fact that Dalziel's commission, received at Edinburgh on 6th November 1679, empowered him 'only to be liable and accountable to, and judgeable by, his Majesty himselfe,' adds that Dalziel 'would not accept it otherways.' Dalrymple (*Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 76) tells the following characteristic story of Dalziel at this time: 'When the Dutchess of York came first to Scotland, she one day observed three covers upon the dining-table. She asked the Duke for whom the third cover was intended? He answered, For General Dalziel, whom he had asked to dine with him. The Dutchess refused to permit a private gentleman to sit at table with her. Dalziel, who had been in the imperial service, entered the room in the mean time; and, hearing the scruples of the Dutchess, told her, he had dined at a table where her father had stood at his back; alluding to the Duke of Modena's being a vassal of the Emperor. The Dutchess felt the reproof, and advised her husband not to offend the pride of proud men.'

³ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 157.



JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE
FROM THE PICTURE AT GLAMIS CASTLE.



himself arrived at Edinburgh to superintend its application.¹ Claverhouse undoubtedly accompanied him.² On 4th December 1679 the Duke took his seat at the Privy Council.³

With York in the Council, and Dalziel in command of the troops, 'a new scene of suffering,' in Wodrow's phrase,⁴ opened upon the harassed Whigs. The Indulgence had done its cleaving work. Their ranks had been winnowed. The stalwarts, the followers of Cameron, Cargill, and Hamilton, alone remained a menacing force, fugitive, and scattered. The events of 1679 were repeated. On 22nd June 1680, the anniversary of Bothwell Bridge, the Sanquhar Declaration disowned Charles Stewart as King.⁵ A month later, 22nd July, at Airds Moss, in Auchinleck, Ayrshire, the Cameronian remnant was surprised by Bruce of Earlshall.⁶ Cameron was slain: Hackston of Rathillet was made prisoner.⁷ Cargill for the moment escaped.

In the punitive measures of 1680 Claverhouse took but a moderate share. On 6th January he was ordered to act in his old districts—Dumfries, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, and Annandale—to hunt down those who had re-

¹ *The London Gazette*, No. 1465. With the Duchess of York he had set out from London on 27th October (*ibid.*, No. 1455).

² Either in 1679, or upon his return to London in 1680, Claverhouse had his portrait painted by Sir Peter Lely. The picture is in the possession of the Earl of Strathmore at Glamis Castle. Napier (vol. ii. Preface, p. xxi) would assign the picture to Kneller at a later year. But tradition and expert opinion concur in attributing it to Lely, who died in 1680.

³ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 186.

⁴ Vol. iii., p. 176.

⁵ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 213.

⁶ For accounts of the engagement see Creighton's in *Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 145; Law, *Memorials*, p. 155; Hackston of Rathillet's in Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 219; Alexander Shields, *The History of Scotch-Presbytery*, p. 38.

On 30th July 1680 he was executed 'in a most severe manner' (Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 270). His trial is recorded in *Complete Collection of State Trials*, vol. x. pp. 791 *et seq.*

jected the offer of indemnity, and to procure witnesses against them.¹ An interruption to that service occurred in February. On the 10th of the month he was ordered to bring to Edinburgh a prisoner from Dunbar.² His absence from his own district seems clearly connected with York's return to England on 16th February.³ That he accompanied James is probable. At least he followed him to London. With the Duke at his back leave of absence would not be difficult. His brother David, who on 3rd March 1680 was commissioned quartermaster of his troop,⁴ was available to watch his interests in Scotland.⁵

Claverhouse's anxiety to return to London was bred of desire to bring to a conclusion the project already mooted to Menteith—his marriage to Helen Graham, and his eventual succession to the Menteith Earldom. York's friendship promised to remove difficulties. But it rested with Helen Graham to give him wife and title: and Helen Graham, or her parents, had other ambitions. She had made no runaway match with an Irishman, as Claverhouse had been led to fear. None the less his suit and Menteith's recommendation of him had alike been rejected. Menteith had adapted himself easily to the new position.

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³ *The London Gazette*, No. 1488.

⁴ See above, p. 38.

⁵ Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 190) supports the view that Claverhouse was not in Scotland in March and April 1680. He says that Claverhouse 'had the gift of what belonged to the fugitives in Nithsdale and other places in the south,' and that he constituted his brother 'and another of his name'—Cornet William Graham, presumably—his 'donators.' In Galloway, where Claverhouse had also license 'to uplift the moveables of all such . . . as had been at Bothwell, or were fugitate,' Wodrow says that his brother 'was employed by him; and by himself or some deputed by him, he went through every parish there, and prosecuted his business with the utmost severity.' On the other hand the Council on 30th June 1680 ordered the troops to the South-West, and Wodrow's comment suggests that Claverhouse was with them (vol. iii. p. 217). But as he was certainly in London on 3rd July 1680, Wodrow's statement must be read as applying to Claverhouse's troop only.

'Seeing ye was not pleased to accept of the Laird of Claverhows to match with that young lady your daughter,' he wrote (18th November 1679) with eupeptic buoyancy to Helen's father, then in London; 'I have now weell grounded and serious thoughts of a very honourable and noble persone in this kingdome.'¹ The 'noble persone' was the young Marquis of Montrose, who so recently had encouraged Claverhouse. But Menteith had either failed to measure Montrose's inclinations, or Montrose, attracted elsewhere, changed his mind. Lady Graham wrote indignantly to Menteith, who, on 27th May 1680, took Montrose to task for having visited the Grahams 'bot tuyse this month.' Hint of his attentions in another quarter was interjected. Montrose was bidden to play the game.²

At this point Claverhouse again entered the lists. On 3rd July 1680 he wrote from London to Menteith.³ The postscript, 'Excuse this scribling, for I am in heast, going to Windsor,' suggests the social atmosphere in which already he was living. His letter took Menteith mildly to task for having pinned his hopes on Montrose rather than on himself. 'So soon as I cam' to London, he proceeded, 'I told Sir James⁴ how much he was obliged to you, and how sincer your desseins wer for the standing of your family; withall I told him that my Lord Montrose was certainly ingadged to you to mary his dochter, but that from good hands I had raison to suspect he had no dessein to perform it; and indeed my Lord Montrose seemed to mak no adress there at all in the begining.' Claverhouse's appearance in London, his favour with York, and the chance of losing the devolution of the Menteith Earldom, spurred Montrose to more serious wooing. 'Hearing that

¹ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 176.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ Sir James Graham, Helen Graham's father.

I went somtymes' to visit the Grahams, Claverhouse continues, Montrose 'feared that I might gate ane interest with the father, for the dochter never appeared, so observent they wer to my Lord Montrose, and he thocht that if I should com to mak any friendship there, that when he cam to be discovered, I might com to be acceptable, and that your Lordship might turn the cheass upon him. Wherfor he went there, and entred in terms to amuse them till I should be gon, for then I was thinking evry day of going away, and had been gon, had I not fallen seek.' Montrose comes badly out of the business. A hitch in the proceedings which were to establish him Menteith's successor suggested an understanding with Claverhouse, whose influence with York he suspected as the cause of it. 'My Lord Montrose,' Claverhouse continues, 'leat me knou that our differences proceeded from mistakes, and that if we mate we might com to understand on another, upon which I went to him. After I had satisfyed him of som things he complained of, he told me that the title was stoped, and asked me if I had no hand in it; for he thocht it could be no other way, seing Sir James concured. I assured him I had not medled in it, as befor God I had not.' Montrose made a strange proposal. He would settle the Menteith title on Claverhouse if the latter would aid in removing the check which barred its immediate settlement upon himself. Claverhouse objected, that without the hand of Helen Graham he had 'never any mynd for the title.' 'He answered me,' Claverhouse continued, 'I might have Sir James' dochter and all.' What of Montrose's pretensions? Claverhouse inquired. Thus challenged, Montrose admitted that he had 'given comission to speak to my Lady Rothies about her dochter, and she had recaived it kyndly.' Helen Graham was still in the market. Montrose offered Claverhouse his good offices with her parents. 'He thocht to mak me

serve him in his desseins,' was Claverhouse's comment, 'and brak me with Sir James and his Laidy.' Montrose, in fact, insinuated to them that Claverhouse 'had a dessein upon their dochter, and was carying it on under hand.' Claverhouse at once 'told my Lady Graham all.' Montrose followed on his heels and gave his own story. The Grahams accepted it. Soon the royal assent to the devolution of the Menteith earldom was granted. But Montrose held back, and 'asheamed of his cariadge,' wrote Claverhouse, 'went away without taking lieve of them, which was to finish his triks with contemp.' Indeed, Claverhouse added angrily, Montrose 'and som of his friends indevored to ruin that yong laidy's reputation to gate an excuse for his cariadge, and broght in my name. But I mad them quikly quyt those desseins, for there was no shadew of ground for it.'¹ Smarting under Montrose's treatment, Claverhouse assured Menteith, Sir James would prove pliable if the Earl would come to London to second his first *protégé*. He added a hasty reference to general affairs: 'Things fly very high here, the indytmments apear frequently against the honest Deuk' of York. 'AssEUR yourself,' he concluded, 'if ever ther be baricades in Glascou again, you shall not want a call; and, my Lord, I bespeak ane imployment under you, which is to be your lievteneent generall, and I will assEUR you we will mak the world talk of us. And therfor

¹ It is usually stated by his biographers that Claverhouse lived a clean life in a vicious age. The authority for the statement is Patrick Walker's remark in his life of Walter Smith (*Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. Hay Fleming, vol. ii. p. 64): 'The hell wicked-witted, bloodthirsty Graham of Claverhouse, who hated to spend his time with wine and women, which made him more active in violent unheard of persecution.' Claverhouse may or may not have lived a clean life, but it is perfectly clear that the motive of Walker's remark was not to testify to Claverhouse's purity, but to suggest that what wine and women were to others, persecution and lust for blood were to him. The only reflection upon Claverhouse's moral character is in a satire quoted by C. K. Sharpe in Kirkton, p. 389. It does not appear in the smallest degree authoritative.

provyd me treues, as you promised, and a good bleu bonet, and I will assure you there shall be no treuse trustier then myn. My Lord, dispond not for this disappointment, but shou resolution in all you doe. When my affaires goe wrong, I remember that saying of Loucan, *Tam mala Pompeii quam prospera mundus adoret*. On has ocasion to shou ther vigour after a wrong stape to make a nimble recovery. . . . My Lord, I have both at hom and abroad sustained the caracter of an honest and franc man, and defys the world to reproach me of anything.'

Claverhouse's reliant insistence upon his integrity and frank outspokenness is justified by his life. It is not incompatible with an obvious resolution to succeed in any effort in which his material interests were involved. That Montrose had behaved badly is clear, though his statement of the case is not available. His return to Scotland threatened an influence upon Menteith sinister to Claverhouse, and the latter was the more anxious to expose Montrose's perfidy, and judiciously to suggest to Menteith his already influential position at Court. On 8th July 1680, without awaiting Menteith's reply, he wrote again:¹ 'Speaking with the Deuk the other day, I took ocasion to tell the Deuk that your Lordship's case was very hard, and mad him understand a litle the business, as far as could be don without wronging my Lord Montrose reputation too much, which I should be unwilling to doe, whatever he doe by me. The Deuk sheuk his head, and said it was not ryght. I said nothing, seing I had no comission, and that it was only by way of discours.' 'I am going,' he added, 'for oght I knou, to Dunkerk with the envoyes to see the Court of France. I am only to be away eight days, so your Lordship may lay your comands on me.'

¹ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 188.

More than a month elapsed before Claverhouse resumed his correspondence with his kinsman. His visit to France had probably taken place. On 24th August 1680 he wrote to Menteith from London.¹ He had heard from the Earl that his interests 'went ill in Scotland,' intelligence discounted, he was able to reply, by information 'from on who has the direction of all my affaires'—his brother David, probably—'who asseured me they wer never in better order, both the affaires of my estate and troupe.' He had long been a stranger to both, and his visit to London was further prolonged by another matter which touched him—the forfeiture of the estate of Macdougall of Freuch.² His postscript added: 'My Lord, your cousin has been seek these ten days of the small poks, but in all apearance will recover, tho' she has them mighty ill. I will have the honor to see your Lordship shortly.'

Claverhouse's anticipated meeting with Menteith probably did not take place.³ There was, in truth, little hope of occupation in Scotland to tempt him thither. Cameron's death, followed a year later (12th July 1681) by Cargill's apprehension,⁴ extinguished the last flicker of active revolt. Claverhouse, one may assume, remained at his patron's side during the stormy Exclusion debates in the Parliaments of 1680 and 1681, until York came safely to harbour upon the flood of Tory reaction. In June 1681 the Duke was in Edinburgh,⁵ and on 28th July 1681,

¹ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 189.

² See below, p. 96.

³ There is no actual proof of Claverhouse's presence in Scotland before 7th October 1681.

⁴ Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 45.

⁵ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 300. A peculiar band of fanatics, the 'Sweet Singers' were 'so rude as to throw out broken chandlers, and other trash, at the Duke of York's coach, as it passed by the Canongate prison' on 23rd June 1681. For this 'company of distracted men and women,' as Fountainhall calls them, see his *Historical Observes*, p. 29; Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 350; Law, *Memorials*, p. 186.

as High Commissioner, opened a memorable Parliament. His succession to the throne, assailed in England, was secured in Scotland by an Act. Allegiance to the future King was safeguarded by a Test, compulsory upon all office-holders, and comprehensive to the verge of contradiction.

Claverhouse probably accompanied York to Edinburgh. The proceedings of the Estates had for him a particular interest. Among those who had been prominent in the late rebellion was Patrick Macdougall, a Galloway laird, whose estate of Freuch, or Galdinloch, with other holdings, lay in and round the parish of Stoneykirk, in the Rhinns of Galloway, upon the coast of Wigtonshire.¹ So early as 18th February 1679 he had been proclaimed a frequenter of conventicles and a resetter of intercommuned persons.² He had taken part in the rebellion, and was specifically excepted from the Indemnity of the following July.³ Early in February 1680 a process of forfeiture was instituted against him, and his goods and property were declared forfeit to the Crown.⁴ Macdougall's estate was of not inconsiderable value,⁵ and on 21st April 1680 a charter was granted for its erection into a barony in favour of Claverhouse.⁶ The operation of the charter, however, was delayed.⁷ On 3rd February 1681 a royal

¹ These details appear in the *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (MS.), vol. lxxviii. No. 261.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 180.

⁴ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 252. Macdougall was, in fact, still at large.

⁵ In the charter of it to Claverhouse, the ward and relief were fixed at £363 and the marriage at £726 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* (MS.), vol. lxxviii. No. 261).

⁶ *Ibid.*; *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. v. fol. 464.

⁷ In his letter to Menteith of 24th August 1680 Claverhouse writes: 'My affaires . . . wer never in better order, . . . only ther was a stop in the passing my signatur of the forfitur, and I stayed here a purpos for to secur it, which nou, I think, I have don, tho' I never had raison to fear it, notwithstanding all oposition I had, and the King and Deuk my frends' (*Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 189). The cause of the 'stop' was Claverhouse's asserted failure to account for the fines he had levied. See *The Despot's Champion*, p. 124.

letter to the Commissioners of the Treasury ordered the necessary steps to be taken to enable Claverhouse to be legally possessed of the forfeited estate.¹ Concurrently with these favours Claverhouse obtained another. He had inherited—his great-grandfather had acquired the property in 1640²—the Glen or Barony of Ogilvie in Glamis parish. On 11th May 1680 a royal letter to the Exchequer ordered the conversion of his tenure of the property from simple to taxed ward, 'in consideration of his Loyalty, and of severall good and acceptable Services done by him unto Us, especially in the time of the late Rebellion.'³ On 6th September 1681 he had a ratification of both concessions by the Estates.⁴

Claverhouse's movements in this period of his career are followed with difficulty. Inference rather than facts avails to trace them. If he had accompanied York to Scotland, he returned once more to London. Helen Graham, or rather the more friendly bearing of her parents, drew him thither. A letter from Lady Graham to Menteith on 15th July 1681 offers a clue to this feverish coming and going. Lady Graham at length expressed her willingness, since Claverhouse had 'prest it so much,' to entertain the Earl's proposal regarding him, and to 'wave the propositiones' of two other suitors for her daughter's hand, until she had learned from the Earl what he proposed to do in the 'settlement of the honour of your ancestors, and the recouering of such landes as formerly belonged to them.' Unless some satisfactory arrangement could be made upon these points,

¹ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vi. fol. 263. Claverhouse was required to pay a sum not exceeding two years' rental of the estate as a proportional payment towards the sum of £14,325, at which the expenses of the suppression of the rebellion in 1679 were assessed.

² *Reg. Mag. Sig. (MS.)*, vol. lx. No. 134.

³ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vi. fol. 23. The ward and relief were fixed at £40 and the marriage at 1000 merks (*Reg. Mag. Sig. (MS.)*, vol. lxxvii. No. 202).

⁴ *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. viii. pp. 314, 315.

she was unable to contemplate Helen's 'matching' in Scotland, 'wheare she would be a daly spectator of the rueines of that noble famely she came from.' She asked for a speedy and positive answer.¹ Menteith appears to have given it, and in terms embarrassing to Claverhouse. On 1st October 1681 he wrote from London to the Earl:² 'I am infinitely sensible of your Lordship's kyndness to me in wryting so kyndly to my Lady Graham and her dochter, especially when people had been representing me so fooly to you.³ I have not dared to present them, because that in my Laidy's letter you wished us much joy, and that we might live happy together, which looked as if you thoght it a thing as good as don. I am seur my Laidy, of the heumeur I knou her to be, would have gon mad that you should think a business that concerned her so neerly, concluded before it was ever proposed to her; and in the dochter's you was pleased to tell her of my affections to her, and what I have suffered for her; this is very galant and oblidging, but I am afeared they would have misconstructured it, and it might doe me pre-judice; and then in both, my Lord, you wer pleased to take pains to shoe them almost clearly they had nothing to expect of you, and teuk from them all hopes which they had, by desyring them to requyr no mor but your consent. Indeed I think it not propre your Lordship should ingadge yourself at all. They would be glade to knou that you only had a resolution to recover your business, they would leave the reast to your owen goodness; and for my[self] I declair I shall never press your Lordship in any thing but what you have a mynd to, and I will asseur you I need nothing to perswad me to take that young laidy. I would take her in her smoak.'

¹ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 201.

³ Another letter of the same date from Claverhouse to Menteith (*ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 198) shows that some one—Montrose probably—was endeavouring to make mischief between them.

Claverhouse was in earnest. Menteith's premature congratulations, one suspects, were born of boredom and faded interest. None the less, Claverhouse spurred him to fresh and more judicious effort: 'My dear Lord, be yet so good as to wryt neu letters to the same purpose. . . . I will be in impatiance till I have those letters. I bygue your Lordship not to grudge at the truble I give you to wryt tuyse. I hope you shall not have occasion to regrait any thing you doe for me, and in doing this you doe me the greatest favour I can recaive of any mortall, so I hop, my Lord, you will think it worth the whyll to oblige a friend of yours at so high a rait, for tho' you never doe mor for me, I will be eternelly yours, and by geating me that yong laidy you mak me happy, and without you I can never doe it, so I am in your reverence, and yet looks not on my fate as mor desperat for that.' And with a final burst: 'For the love of God wryt kyndly of me to them, and promise them kyndness, but I never shall suffer them to think of any engadgments from you. Long may you lieve to enjoy your estate, whill I have the occasion to acquyt myself of so many and so considerable obligations I owe you.'

Claverhouse, then, had his romance, an incongruous undercurrent of the stress of Drumclog and Bothwell. And was it Helen Graham's also? If so, Lady Graham was the repressor of it—'a very cunning woman,' Claverhouse describes her. Her visit to London had been disappointingly inconclusive. With her family she was preparing to return to Ireland. Claverhouse can hardly have awaited their departure. On 7th October 1681 Stirling gave him the freedom of its burgh,¹ a testimony

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1667-1752*, p. 33. The record runs: 'Admittis and receaves Captain John Graham of Claverhous, Sir Andro Bruce of Earleshall, Mr. David Grahame, brother to Claverhous, [and six others], burgessis and gild breither of the said burgh, gratis, and they present made faith as use is.'

to the position which his three years' service in Scotland had won for him. The next few weeks he passed probably in his own home, so long a stranger to him. Thence he set out for Edinburgh to take part in a public drama shortly to be enacted. On 26th November 1681 he embarked at Burntisland on board *The Blessing*, in company with 'several Gentle-Women, Ministers, and a whole Throng of common Passengers.' The passage to Leith was stormy, to the verge of shipwreck, and has quaint record by one who shared it and marked Claverhouse's deportment:¹

'Courage is still the same on Land, at Sea,
He who can boldly kill, dares bravely die :
Yet he whose Ire hath smil'd on Seas of Blood,
Looks pale on Water, in his coolest Mood.
Souldiers stern Fire abhorres the death of Slaves ;
It can't Resist, nor Vengeance wreck on Waves.
Mars crops his Fame, on Camps, Fields, Cities hie :
But what's ten thousand Swords against a Sea ?'

Claverhouse's visit to Edinburgh was in obedience to a summons to attend the trial of Argyll. The Earl had been arrested in November upon his refusal to take the Test. On 12th and 13th December 1681 he was tried and found guilty of treason. Both Montrose and Claverhouse were upon the jury.² Their conjunction was strange, in view of their recent rivalry. Claverhouse had written (11th December 1681) to Menteith on the day before Argyll's trial.³ He reported some step on Montrose's part hostile to Menteith's interests. 'My Lord,' he added, 'you see by this and many other things, how prejudicial it is for you not to com to som settlement in your affairs, ether on way or other, and in the mean tyme my aideg slips away, and I loose other occasions, as I

¹ Alexander Tyler, *The Tempest, between Burnt-Island and Leith, in a Boat called The Blessing, in November 1681.*

² Wodrow, vol. iil. p. 337.

³ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 203.

suppose the young laidy also does.' Menteith had written to Lady Graham to propose a meeting. Claverhouse was forwarding the letter to her. 'If they be in Yrland,' he told Menteith, 'I shall propose that they come to my house [Freuch] in Galoua, and there they shall need no protection, for I am in good hopes not only to comand the forces there, but be Scherif of Galoua.' His hope was realised, but Helen Graham was not to share his rising fortunes. On 1st March 1682 Claverhouse wrote his last letter to Menteith on the subject: 'I must tell you it is most necessary wee meet. . . . I have had on[e] in Yrland whom I shall bring alongs [with] me, and you shall knou all.'¹ The letter suggests a crisis. Helen Graham, in fact, was on the verge of marriage to Captain Rawdon, nephew of the Earl of Conway.² Lucan's aphorism haply consoled Claverhouse!

¹ *Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 425.

CHAPTER VI

SHERIFF OF WIGTON

THE circumstances under which Claverhouse, after a long interval, found himself once more an active agent of the Council's policy call for brief preface. That body was the mouthpiece of the Duke of York, and the Duke's policy was concentrated upon securing quiet succession to his brother's crown. The Act of Succession had affirmed his right; the Test Act had provided a text of acquiescence. Its inconsistencies furnish the key to its motive. But even its lavish mesh barred passage to the fanatics of the Covenants. Their strength and resolution had been twice demonstrated, even under a King whose bondage to the Scarlet Woman was cryptic. Their opposition under more open conditions could be foreseen. James's policy was to bear down resistance in that quarter before his accession tempted it from fevered declamation to overt resistance. The Test Act was therefore the gauge of loyalty, whose strenuous application should winnow the Tory wheat from the Whig chaff. Those whom it threatened hastened to pronounce it *anathema* in time-honoured ritual. On 12th January 1682 an armed party of Cameronians burned the obnoxious Act at Lanark. Two days later (14th January) the Council ordained an answering holocaust of the Rutherglen and Sanquhar Declarations, Cargill's Covenant, the latest Lanark Declaration, and the Solemn League and Covenant.¹ 'Some thought it but a

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 362.

sorry politique to burne the Solemne League,' Fountainhall comments, 'to revive the memory of what was long agoe buried in oblivion.'¹ The inclusion of that document, however, precisely points the spirit in which the Test Act was conceived.

His service in Galloway had been foreshadowed by Claverhouse in his letter of 11th December 1681 to Menteith. The necessity for it appears in a statement of Queensberry to Haddo on 2nd January 1682: 'In the heads of Galloway some of the Rebells meet; but their number is not considerable, not exceeding 12 or 16, and their bussieness is only to drinke and quarrell: so neither Church nor Steate (in my judgement) need feare them. However, I'm still of opinion the sooner Garisones be pleaced, and a competent pairtie sent with Cleveres for scoureing that pairt of the countrey the better. Besydes, I'me tolde feild conventicles continow in Annandaile and Galloway, but all will certainly evanish upon Cleveres' aryvall, as I have often tolde.'² On 7th January 1682 the Council submitted to the King a list of jurisdictions which had become forfeited by their holder's refusal to take the Test. The Heritable Sherifffdom of Wigton and the Heritable Regality of Tongland were among them. For both of them the Council, inspired, no doubt, by York, recommended Claverhouse.³ The Council's recommendation was endorsed without delay. On 19th January

¹ Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 58.

² *Letters illustrative of Public Affairs in Scotland*, addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen (Spalding Club), p. 5. One infers from a letter, of 26th January 1682, from Lord Ross to Turner (Sir James Turner, *Memoirs*, p. 281), that Dalziel was nervous as to the locality of Claverhouse's employment. Ross writes: 'I remember the Generall shew me that he did apprehend ther was a designe that Claveres should come wast, but I found him wery avers to it.'

³ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 359. Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw (Wigton) and Viscount Kenmure (Tongland) were the persons dispossessed. Sir Andrew Agnew was ultimately reinstated on 25th April 1689 (Sir Andrew Agnew, *The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, vol. ii. p. 154).

1682 Claverhouse was appointed to both of the forfeited jurisdictions.¹ On 26th January the Council received the King's instructions to draft his commission,² and five days later (31st January) the document was completed. In the Sherifffdom of Wigton he was empowered 'to call before him, his deputies and substitutes, the persons frequenting and residing in the said shire of Wigton, guilty of withdrawing from the public ordinances, in their parish churches, since our late act of indemnity, as also the persons guilty of conventicles, disorderly baptisms and marriages, harbouring and resetting of rebels during the said space, and to impose and exact the fines conform to the acts of parliament, and to do and perform every thing requisite and necessary, for putting the same to due and vigorous execution.' He was further commissioned to act as Sheriff-depute in the adjacent jurisdictions of Dumfries, Annandale, and Kirkcudbright, seeing that 'the persons guilty of these orders do remove from one jurisdiction to another, when they are called in question and pursued; and that we find it necessary for our service, in this exigent, that the persons guilty of these disorders, in the places adjacent [to Wigtonshire] . . . be brought to justice.'³

From New Galloway on 16th February 1682 Claverhouse wrote the first of a series of letters to Queensberry regarding the duty upon which he was engaged.⁴ He had

¹ *Paper Register*, (Register House MS.), x. 258; *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vi. fol. 594. Both commissions were 'during the King's pleasure only,' and therefore expired upon the death of Charles the Second. They were not renewed by his successor.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 360.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 370. Wodrow states further that Claverhouse had the Council's permission 'to make use of the house or chapel belonging to Sir John Dalrymple, to keep guard in, and in the house at Kirkcudbright, belonging to Sir Robert Maxwell.'

⁴ These letters are printed in the *Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. pp. 264-294). They number thirty-seven.

already traversed Wigton and Kirkcudbright, from Stranraer on the west to Dumfries on the east. 'The rebelles,' he reported, 'have lieved, I fynd, peacably here till nou, and their wyfes ar still in their houses, and takes it worse nou then they would have don at first to be ruined; for then they expected it, and nou after so long forbearance they wer becom secur. The contry here abouts is in great dreed. Upon our marche yesterday most men wer flaid, not knouing against whom we desseined; but the act of counsell about the saif conduct¹ amuses many, and will be of use to make them mor unexcusable in the eyes of the people, if they make not use of it, which I am feared feu will doe.' 'The first thing I mynd to doe,' he explained, 'is to fall to work with all that have been in the rebellion, or accessory their too by giving men, mony or armes; and nixt recetts,² and after, field conventicles; for what remains of the lawes against the fanatiks, I will threaten much, but forbear sever excicution for a whyll, for fear people should grou desperat and increase too much the number of our animys. My Lord, their is on faveur I must deseir of you and I believe when I have got it I will not by land with it; which is, that your Lordship would be pleased to consider, that having business in so many places and with so many people, I will be put to great expence; and there is no doing business without being open handed; so would desyr your Lordship would speak with the Deuk and represent the thing to the Lords of the Treasury, that I may have the gift of any that ar not yet forfeited that I can fynd probation against. I mean only of their movables; and shall with it suport all the expence of the goverment, as

¹ Claverhouse was empowered by the Council 'to call for, and commune with the rebels, or any suspect to have been in the rebellion from Gallo-way,' with 'power to give them safe conducts, not exceeding fourteen days, to pass and repass, and commune with them' (Wedrow, vol. iii. p. 370).

² i.e. harbourers of rebels.

mantinence of prisoners, witness, speys, and all other expence necessary in this contry; for your Lordship would lait them knou that I have many things to doe extrinsik to the office of an officer.' On 22nd February 1682 he wrote from Dumfries:¹ 'I have spok with most pairt of the forfeited heritors wyfes at their owen houses, but see litle inclination in them to . . . mak their peace with the King. . . . I have so far prefered the publik concern to my owen, that I have not so much as called at Freuch, tho I passed in sight of it. I can catch no body, they are all so alarumed. My Lord Deuk Hamilton was pleased to tell me befor I pairted, that I would doe well to lay closs in houses, for he would make it so uneasy for the Whighs to lieve in the West, that he would send them all in to me; but by what I see yet, I send mor in on him then he does on me.' He had a scheme, he added, 'which would secur the peace both of the West and this contry, and I am perswaded will seem reasonable to your Lordship, and I wonder no body has thoght on it yet; but I will say nothing till I have put things to som order here, and I will bygue lieve for three or four days to com to Edinbourg and give you ane account of it.'

Claverhouse propounded his scheme in his next letter to Queensberry:² 'The proposal I wrot to your Lordship of, for securing the peace, I am seur will please in all things but on, that it will be som what out of the Kings pokett. The way that I see taken in other places is to put lawes severly against great and small in excicution; which is very just: but what effects does that produce, but mor to exasperat and alienat the hearts of the wholl body of the people; for it renders three desperat wher it gains on; and your Lordship knous that in the greatest crymes it is thoght wyse[s]t to pardon the multitud and

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 266.

² *Ibid.*, p. 267. The letter is dated from New Galloway, 1st March 1682.

punish the ringleaders, wher the number of the guilty is great, as in this case of wholl contrys. Wherfor I have taken ane other cours here. I have called two or three parishes together at on church, and after intimating to them the pouer I have, I raid them a libell narating all the acts of parlement against the fanatiks, wherby I made them sensible hou much they wer in the Kings reverence, and asseured them he was relenting nothing of his former severity against dissenters, nor care of mantening the esteblished goverment, as they might see by his doubling the fynes in the late Act of Parlement; and, in end, told them that the King had no dessein to ruin any of his subjects he could recleam, nor I to inrich my self by their crymes, and therfor any who would resolve to conform and lieve regularly might expect faveur, excepting only recetters and ringleaders. Upon this on Sunday last their was about three hondred people at Kilkoubrie [Kirkcudbright] church; som that for seven year befor had never been there. So that I doe expect, that with in a short tyme, I could bring tuo pairts of three to the church.' 'But when I have don that, it is all to no purpose,' he was compelled to admit; 'for we will be no sooner gon but in coms there ministers, and all repents and fall bak to ther old ways; so that it is in vain to think of any settlement here, without a constant force pleased in garison . . . for there ar som of them, doe what they lyk, they cannot keep the preachers from their houses in their absence, So made ar som of their wyfes.' He proposed that one hundred dragoons should be raised for service in Galloway, and was ready to superintend them without pay. To support 'the nixt officer, who is to be the drudge,' he suggested that the rank and file of his own and the other two independent troops of horse should be reduced from sixty to fifty-seven, which was 'the establishment of Holland.' The cornet's pay could

be found by abolishing that officer from the Bass Rock garrison, 'seing he has no body to gaird but solen geese and ministers; the first will not flee away, and the others would be as well in Blakness or Dumbarton.' For the hundred dragoons, the twenty-four men on the Bass or their pay could be utilised. There remained a further sum of about £700 to finance his scheme. He suggested that the Treasury could 'fynd a way to cut of som ydle pension . . . and if it could be got no where els, it were better sell that [Bass] rok'! 'I will assure you,' Claverhouse added, with pride in his offspring, 'there has been no mor faisable project, tho I say it myself; for first, it would secur this contry: then if those of the West wer frustrat of this retreat, they would be easilyer found.' He concluded: 'If this doe not, I may brake my head to no purpose; for I knou after that no other way but to doe as others, and gate as much mony as I can, which I have not thoght on as yet, by puting the lawes in excicution.' Such was the scheme, less interesting in itself than as a revelation of the man and his character. His sentences ring true. With Queensberry there was no motive for pretence of moderation, for affectation of disinterestedness. His employers were careless of either. Even Burnet allowed him 'virtue and probity' in spite of his 'violent hatred against the whole presbyterian party.'¹

The Claverhouse who reveals himself in these Queensberry letters is, in fact, vastly aloof from the Claverhouse of distorted Covenanting hagiology. 'It will be mor of consequence to punish on[e] considerable laird then a hondred litle bodys,' he writes to Queensberry on 5th March 1682;² 'Beseids, it is juster, because these only sin

¹ *Supplement to Burnet's History*, ed. H. C. Foxcroft, p. 305.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 270. The letter is dated from Wigton.

by the exemple of those.' He had not 'fallen yet to work in good earnest in any pairt, because I thoght best to understand the steat of the contry befor I layed down my measeurs.' A week later he reported¹ a case for severity. He had captured 'that great villain MkClorg, the smith at Menegaff, that made all the clikys,² and after whom the forces has troted so often; it cost me both paines and mony to knou hou to fynd him. I am resolved to hang him, for it is necessary I make som exemple of severity, least rebellion be thoght cheap here. There can not be alyve a mor wiked fellou.' He added: 'I am to meet to morou with all the heritors of this shyr, to see how they ar inclyned as to bringing their people to church and securing the peace of the contry, that I may be favorable to them. I fynd it no hard work to conform this shyr, had I but tyme anogh. . . . Nou when your Lordship is to see the King³ and that the state of this contry is to be considered, it wer necessary to lait him knou that we have not forces anogh for all the work we have. It wer no great business for the King to send as much mony as would mantain fyve or six hondred mor dragoons; and in tuo or three years this contry I am seur would be broght to forgett all there folllys.' Before the end of the month he was in Edinburgh with his prisoners, desirous also to 'give account to the general and those of the goverment of my proceedings; for I begood to aprehend that in your Lordships absence som people might take the occasion to misrepresent me.' He added: 'I have informed them fully of all my measurs; and I am so happy

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 270. The letter is dated from Stranraer, 13th March 1682.

² Probably a kind of implement for cutting the bridle-reins of the cavalry.

³ The Duke of York left Edinburgh for Newmarket on 6th March 1682. Queensberry was instructed to follow him to lay the state of the Treasury before the King (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 364).

as that they all seem satisfied, and particularly the generall; hou long it will be so, God knous.'¹

Claverhouse's visit to Edinburgh was of no long duration. On 1st April 1682 he was at Kirkcudbright, whence he sent a report to Queensberry of the state of that part of his wide command:² 'This contry nou is in parfait peace. All who wer in the rebellion ar ether seased, gon out of the contry, or treating their peace; and they have alraidy so conformed as to going to the church that it is beyond my expection. In Dumfries not only almost all the men ar com, but the woemen have given obedience; and Earngray,³ Welshes owen parish, have for the most pairt conformed, and so it is over all the contry; so that, if I be suffered to stay any tyme here, I doe expect to see this the best settled pairt of the kingdom on this seyd Tay. . . . All this is don without having recaived a farthing mony, ether in Nidsdell, Anandell or Kilkoubrie, or impresoned any body; but in end there will be need to make examples of the stubborn that will not complay; nor will there be any denger in this after we have gained the great body of the people, to whom I am becom acceptable anogh, having passed all bygons upon bonds of regular cariadge hereafter.' His postscript is luminous: 'Since the wryting of this I have been at church, where there was not ten men and not above thretty woemen wanting of all the toun; where there used to be ten, I sawe six or seven hundred.'

From Kirkcudbright Claverhouse passed to New Galloway, Dumfries,⁴ and thence to Moffat. From Moffat he

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 271. The letter is dated from Edinburgh, 25th March 1682.

² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

³ Irongray.

⁴ According to Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 402), Claverhouse apprehended on 4th April 1682 one Thomas Greg, a merchant in Carrick, and carried him to New Galloway and thence to Dumfries. After eleven days' imprisonment there, he was, without trial, sent to Leith, placed on board a ship

wrote to Queensberry on 17th April 1682 :¹ 'I must say I never sawe people goe from on extremity to another mor cavalierly then this people does. We ar nou com to read lists evry Sonday after sermon of men and weomen, and we fynd feu absent. . . . I have examined every man in the shyr, and almost all the Steuartry of Galouy, and fixt such a guilt upon them, that they ar absolutly in the Kings reverence, and I shall give them no discharge, would they give me millions, till I have bond for their regular cariage, and maintenance for those dragoons, if the King think fit to rease them ; and if I doe this, I think it not ill use of that comission. Did the King and the Deuk knou what those rebellious villans, which they call minesters, put in the heads of the people, they would think it necessary to keep them out. The poor people about Menegaff confess upon oath that they wer made reneu the Covenant, and belieue the King was a Papist, and that he desseined to force it on them.'

In May 1682 the Duke of York returned to Scotland. He narrowly escaped drowning on the voyage.² Claver-

bound for Holland, and 'gifted to the recruits there.' Nothing was laid to his charge but nonconformity, Wodrow states, adding that he had the story from Greg himself. On the face of it, the story is eminently improbable. It may be noticed, however, that a similar charge is brought against Lauderdale : 'There were fourteen men taken at a Field-Conventicle, who (without being legally convict of that or any other Crime) were secretly, and in the night, taken out of Prison, upon a Warrant signed by the Earl of Lynlithgo, and the Lords Hatton and Collington, and were delivered to Captain Maytland, who had been Page to the Duke of Lauderdale, but was then a French Officer, and was making his Leavies in Scotland, and were carried over to the Service of the French King in the year [16]76' (*Some particular Matter of Fact relating to the Administration of Affairs in Scotland under the Duke of Lauderdale*, p. 3).

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 272.

² See accounts of the catastrophe in *Law, Memorials*, p. 232 ; *Biscoe, The Earls of Middleton*, p. 140. York was present at Privy Council in Edinburgh on 8th May 1682, when he produced letters-patent constituting Sir George Gordon of Haddo (who had shared James's narrow escape from drowning) Chancellor in room of the late Earl of Rothes (Fountain-hall, *Historical Observes*, p. 68).

house hastened to report the measures he had taken, and the success that had attended them. On 15th May 1682 he received the Council's thanks for his diligence in executing his commission in Galloway.¹ The success and independent initiative which distinguished his methods stood in contrast to the work of others similarly employed. On 20th May Dalziel was ordered to confer with him, 'and to consider what further necessary is to be done as to settling of the peace' of Ayr and Lanark.² His appearance in that locality hastened the exodus of those who had cause to fear him. On 17th June 1682 he reported to Queensberry³ a circumstance of sinister import to himself. On the previous day he had left Edinburgh upon his return to Galloway. As he approached a spot which he calls 'the Bille,'⁴ he had information that a party of Whigs 'of six or seven scor' had left about six hours before. They had passed there from Clydesdale towards Teviotdale a few days before, and were returning westward. 'Som say they hade a meeting with the Teviotdelle folks,' Claverhouse reported; 'others would make me believe they had a mynd for me. They did ask in severall places what they heard of me, and told they wer seur my troupe was far in in Galaway; others say they wer flaying the West for fear of the diligen[c]e the gentry

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, p. 373.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 273. The letter is dated from Dumfries.

⁴ There is no place of the name on the map. Claverhouse's letter makes it clear that it was on the Tweed, and in the route of a party proceeding from Clydesdale to Teviotdale. Also it had an inn or change-house. In a letter to Menteith, on 1st March 1682, Claverhouse invites the Earl to meet him at 'the Bille, which is aighteen mylle from Edinbourg' (*Red Book of Menteith*, vol. ii. p. 205). If he refers to the same place, he certainly underestimates its distance from Edinburgh. The place was also one which Claverhouse would pass on his journey from Edinburgh to Galloway. It must, therefore, be looked for on the Tweed somewhere between Broughton and Moffat, and may certainly be identified with the Crook Inn on the border of Tweedsmuir parish. It was a famous hostelry in the old coaching days.

is deseined to use for their discovery. I could believe this, wer they not returned.' Sending an express back to Edinburgh to warn the authorities—for he 'thought it fit the quarters should be advertised not [to] be too secur, when these rogues had the impudency to goe about so'—Claverhouse continued his journey to Galloway. His two days' delay in starting from Edinburgh had saved him from a possible repetition of Drumclog.¹

Throughout the remainder of the year 1682 Claverhouse, with some interruptions, continued his pacification of Galloway. Wodrow records his activity in August and September in Kenmure and New Glenluce.² But his illuminating letters to Queensberry fail us.³ The event of chief interest in the exercise of his sheriff's commission is a quarrel which illustrates his fearless independence, his resolution to abate not one jot of the powers his commission conferred, and his shrewd ability in surroundings other than those of his chosen profession. As Sheriff of Wigton, Claverhouse had already found reason to suspect the attitude of the Dalrymples of Glenluce. Sir James, the elder, who later became Viscount Stair, had already proclaimed his hostility to Lauderdale's repressive policy. He had sought to mitigate the severity of the Test Act, and failing, had fled to London to escape its operation.⁴ His son, Sir John, who later became first Earl of Stair, remained in Scotland, and as Heritable Bailie of the Regality of Glenluce was responsible for the furtherance of a policy which, like his father, he heartily disliked.⁵

¹ Queensberry writes to Aberdeen on 27th June 1682: 'I doubt not but your Lordship hes full account of Cleveres' rancounter att the Bile. It was good he came not a day sooner; for certainly their designe was against him' (*Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 23).

² Wodrow, vol. iii, pp. 382, 384.

³ Two only are extant—one of 2nd October 1682, and one undated.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

⁵ Mackay (*Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple*, p. 182) writes: 'The conduct of Stair throughout these proceedings does not appear diffi-

So early as 5th March 1682 Claverhouse had given Queensberry a hint of the attitude of the Dalrymples: 'Here in the shyr [Wigton] I fynd the lairds all following the exemple of a leat great man [Sir James Dalrymple], and still a considerable heritor here amongst them, which is, to lieve regularly themselves, but have their houses constant hants of rebelles and intercomed persons, and have their childring baptysed by the saim, and then lay all the blem on their wyfes, condemning them and swearing they can not help what is don in their absence. But I am resolved this gest shall pass no longer here, for it[s] laghing and fooling the government.'¹ It was not until the following August that Claverhouse had inclination or opportunity to fulfil his threat. Challenging Sir John Dalrymple's jurisdiction in Glenluce, he apprehended a number of his tenants on the plea that they were frequenters of conventicles and absentees from church.² On 31st August 1682 Dalrymple presented a bill of suspension to the Council, alleging that he had already fined those whom Claverhouse had dealt with. Claverhouse's answer was a flat negative. Dalrymple's attachments and fines, he averred, were collusive, and were designed only to prevent his more zealous action. The Council reserved the point of jurisdiction for consideration. The prisoners' fines, 'which ware most exorbitant,' Fountainhall declares, were sequestrated meanwhile. Dalrymple received a hint

cult to understand. He wished for quiet, was anxious to keep in with the Government, no doubt in part with a view to maintain the rights and preserve the estates of himself and his son, and he used all the influence he could command with this object. But he was also plainly endeavouring in the country, as he had done at the Council Board in Edinburgh, to mitigate the severity of the penal laws.'

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 269.

² Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 384) records Claverhouse's capture of four persons in New Glenluce in August 1682 'merely for not hearing of the incumbents.' If, as seems probable, they were the same people regarding whose apprehension Dalrymple made his protest, Wodrow's statement of the facts of their treatment is far removed from the truth.

of the temper of the Council in an admonition, 'that heritable Bailzies or Shireffs, who are negligent themselves in putting the laws to execution, should not offer to compete with the Shireffs commissionat and put in by the Privy Counsell, who executed vigorously the King's laws.'¹

In spite of the Council's support, Claverhouse had reason to fear that Sir John's attitude tended to weaken his control of Galloway. On 30th September 1682 Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, wrote to Aberdeen:² 'Wee sent a letter recomending to Clavrose to put the lawes to execution, and promising to assist him; vchich hee desyred, becaus hee heard that people ver, since Sir John Dalrympl's processe, slackening.' Claverhouse also feared its possible effect upon his position at Court, and asked leave to proceed to London. He wrote to Queensberry from Edinburgh on 2nd October 1682 to tell him his anxiety and the refusal of his request: 'I send your Lordship here inclosed the treasurer deputs letter, by which I see the Deuk will not lait me up. I supose he has no mind the thing should be heard by the King, because it would load a certain person. They seem satisfied that the Deuk promises he will see it don, and that my lord Maitland shall not have lieve to speak of it. But I am of a quyt contrary opi[ni]on, for I knou hou much ons presence prevails with the good natur of the King and Deuk.' He had sent up an 'explanatory letter,' and had 'wryten positivly, either that I have lieve to come, or that the explanatory letter, which I have sent up, be seigned; otherways, I have raison to believe that evill offices have been don me from this to the Deuk.'³ Queensberry did not share Claverhouse's nervous apprehensions, but wrote to the Duke on his behalf. James

¹ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 373.

² *Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 77.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 274.

sent an assuring answer (2nd December 1682): 'I am absolutly of your mind as to Claueros, and thinke his presence more necessary in Galloway then any where els; for he need not feare any thing Stairs can say of him, his Majesty being so well satisfyd with him.'¹

Emboldened, it may be, by the assurance of support in high quarters,² Claverhouse took the aggressive against Dalrymple. On 14th December 1682 he formally indicted him before the Privy Council.³ He accused him of weakening the hands of the Government in Galloway by 'traversing and opposing' him in the exercise of his commission. He averred that Dalrymple employed 'disloyall and disaffected persons to be his bailzies and clerks' in the Regality; that he had taken no steps to impose the Test there until long after January 1682; that he had imposed mock fines on delinquents, 'not the 50 or 60 part of what the law appointed,' and 'only to prevent Claveris fynes'; that he had discharged his tenants from attending the Sheriff-Courts summoned by Claverhouse, and had accused him of misappropriation of the fines levied by him on them. Further, Claverhouse alleged that Dalrymple had offered him £150 sterling 'to connive at the irregularities of his mother, the Lady Stairs, his sisters, and others.'⁴ Dalrymple indignantly repelled the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 177. An undated letter from Claverhouse to Queensberry, clearly in October 1682, speaks of his troop as ordered to remain at Dumfries (*ibid.*, p. 274).

² If Fountainhall may be relied on (*Chronological Notes*, p. 38), Claverhouse desired to cite Sir John Dalrymple for treason, but Aberdeen refused to issue a warrant. Fountainhall states that Aberdeen's refusal was among the causes which contributed to his fall in 1684.

³ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. pp. 388-390.

⁴ Mackay (*Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple*, p. 182) suggests that the Dalrymples had merely offered to join in a bond with others in Galloway for the good behaviour of the shire, and in order to relieve it from the burden of the troops. He points out that a similar course had already been taken in Fife and in part of Lanark. There can be little doubt that this was the nature of Dalrymple's proposal, though Claverhouse no doubt accurately discerned the motive of it. The idea of a bribe is

charges. He was reproved by the Chancellor, Aberdeen, 'for the tart reflections he had theirin on Claveris ingenuity,' says Fountainhall, who with Sir George Lockhart acted for Dalrymple. Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, appeared for Claverhouse. The case, says Fountainhall, roused 'much transport, flame, and humeur.'¹ The condition of Galloway was brought into it. Dalrymple alleged that the shire was 'orderly and regular,' and the need for Claverhouse and his troops there no longer existent. Claverhouse, inspired by a recent nine days' wonder,² declared that there were as many elephants and crocodiles in Galloway as loyal or regular persons, a statement which hardly tallies with the burden of his letters to Queensberry.

Claverhouse's libel of Dalrymple was further heard on 21st December 1682 and 6th January 1683.³ On 12th February 1683 the Council gave judgment. Fountainhall records the sentence: 'They found, that Claverhouse had done nothing but what was very legal, and consonant to his commission and instructions, and the Chancellor complimented him so far, that they wondered that he, not being a Lawyer, had walked so warily in so irregular a Country, (for he ascribed the reduction of the West to a peaceable conformity and reformation, to himself,) and therefore the Chancellor gave him the Council's thanks for his encouragement; and found that Sir John Dalrymple, tho' a Lawyer and Bailie of the Regality of

absurd. Sir George Mackenzie, writing to Aberdeen on 10th October 1682, reveals the true nature of the proposal: 'Clavrose has brok a cabal that was designing in Galloway, to undertak for the peace of the countrey, as Clidsdale did' (*Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 88).

¹ Napier (vol. ii. p. 309) quotes Sir John Dalrymple's libel of Claverhouse, accusing him of having threatened to box his ears 'in presence of the Committee of Council appointed to examine witnesses, in the very time that Committee was sitting upon that affair.'

² In January 1681 Scotland for the first time was visited by an elephant. See a quaint description of it in Law, *Memorials*, p. 176.

³ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. pp. 391, 394.

Glenluce, had exceeded his bounds, and had weakened the hands of his Majesty's authority and the Council's, and their commissions, and interfered with them; and therefore they declared the said Sir John to lose his heritable Bailiery during his lifetime, and to pay £500 Sterling of fine, and to enter that night into prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, to ly there not only till he paid it, but during the Council's pleasure.¹ The fine was paid, and on 20th February 1683 Sir John was given liberty within the bounds of Edinburgh.²

Claverhouse's victory was less personal in its character than a confirmation of the methods which the Government had chosen to employ, of a system of whose effectiveness Claverhouse was himself the most signal exponent. Fountainhall, who had failed to obtain a verdict for his client, accurately diagnosed the rigour of it as designed 'to discourage all from stopping or opposing their military commissions.'³ The Sheriff of Wigton had shown what might be done by a man of vigour and resource. Claverhouse's task had been to make the law respected; to produce at least an appearance of conformity; above all, to extrude all active agents of disturbance. That he had succeeded is attested. That his success was carried by delicate methods of persuasion it would be idle to maintain. Claverhouse was far too shrewd a man to suppose that thronged churches proved changed conviction in their frequenters. He was not charged with the rôle of missionary. His business was to compel obedience, to extinguish rebellion in the headquarters of it. Therein

¹ Fountainhall, *The Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session*, vol. i. p. 217.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 220. Upon his appointment as Lord Advocate in February 1687 Sir John obtained a precept for £1200, of which £500 represented the fine in which he had been mulcted four years before (Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 783).

³ Fountainhall, *Decisions*, vol. i. p. 217.

he had succeeded, not so much by sledge-hammer policy, as by a nice discrimination in the economy of punitive effort. The Herodian method one judges condemned by him as inartistic and ponderous. Solely as an essay in effective administration, the exercise of his commission in Wigton stamps him a man of abounding ability.

An unknown admirer in January 1683 hailed Claverhouse¹

‘The brave reformer of great Gallaway-shire,
I howp he will to Colonel’s place aspire.’

The pious hope was already fulfilled. On 25th December 1682 he was promoted colonel, and received the command of a new-formed regiment, ‘His Majesty’s Regiment of Horse,’ made up of his own and the other two independent troops which had been raised in 1678, with the addition of a fourth.² Its formation and reinforcement was both a reward for Claverhouse’s efficient service; and also a concession to the advice he had persistently pressed on the authorities as to the necessity for an augmentation of the standing forces of the Crown in Scotland. With the regiment now formed Claverhouse served till within a few months of his death. The brief and inglorious campaign of 1688 in England against William of Orange was its last service under him, its last appearance as part of the Scottish establishment.³

¹ *The Muses New Yeares Gift and Hansell*, in Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*.

² The commission is among the *Duntrune MSS*. It bears, that seeing it was designed ‘to form into a Regiment those our three standing Troops of Horse (Excluding our Troop of Guard) in our ancient Kingdome of Scotland, and to order the raising of a fourth to be added thereunto,’ Claverhouse is appointed ‘Colonell of our said Regiment of Horse, As also Captain of a Troop therein.’ The commission is endorsed: ‘Commission to John Graham of Claverhouse to be Colonell of his Ma^{ty} new formed Regiment of Horse in Scotland.’ A draft of the commission is in the *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vii. fol. 481.

³ See a note on the regiment in Appendix I.

The significance of Claverhouse's successful libel of Dalrymple was driven home by the Council. On 1st March 1683 that body issued new and categorical instructions to Claverhouse and others holding similar commissions. They were empowered to call for the books and records of Sheriffs and Bailies of Regalities within their bounds, and to examine the fines imposed by them: 'In case you find any not fined who were guilty, or that fines have been taken up without sentence, or by collusion given down and rebated, and not adequate and according to law, you are to pursue such persons, and to fine either such persons as have been pursued and not sentenced, or such as being fined, their fines have not been exacted within the space of a month, by payment or security; and such whose fines have been inadequately imposed, in as much more as will make the same correspond with law. And you are to have no regard to any receipts but such as are particular, bearing the crimes and fines imposed, and the money truly paid, relating to a sentence, which you are to allow *pro tanto*. And you are to give account of any of these magistrates guilty of such negligence, connivance, and collusion.'¹

Claverhouse did not remain in Scotland to fulfil instructions so entirely in harmony with his own views. With the curious concentration on self-interest and duty alike which distinguishes him, there were reasons which made his presence at Court imperative. A pretty little plot was on foot, of character honest and above board, with promise of a climax profitable to the three actors in it—Queensberry, Aberdeen, and Claverhouse himself. In their joint interests he was to proceed to London, where experience had already taught him 'hou much ons presence prevails with the good natur of the King and Deuk.' On 1st March 1683 he writes to Aberdeen, probably

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 423.

from Freuch or Dumfries: 'I have don all I had to doe here, as my Lord Treasurer may inform your Lordship, and will be to morow at Carlyll, and I hop at Neu-market on Monday or Tuesday'¹ A week later he was at Court.

¹ *Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 101.

CHAPTER VII

AT COURT

HIGH above the town of Dundee, and still with an aspect of menace, stands the Castle of Dudhope.¹ On its site the Scrymgeours for generations had held ward over the town below. A castle stood there as early as 1298. In the middle of the fifteenth century a larger and stronger structure took its place. One hundred and fifty years later, enlarged and strengthened, it grew to its present form, a solid, severe, L-shaped pile, round-towered at the junction of its wings and at their extremities: a single gateway, giving outlet from its courtyard, fronting eastward. It stands to-day much as it stood two hundred years and more ago, suggestive of strength rather than of comfort, a citadel rather than a home.

At no great distance from Dudhope lay the Claverhouse estate. On it a quasi-ruin, not unpicturesque in its environment, poses mendaciously to some as a relic, or at least the approximate site, of what once was Claverhouse's Castle. Its mendacity is incorrigible! Itself of structure so recent as 1850,² it is the confusing memento of a castle as ungentle as itself. There was never, in fact, a Claver-

¹ For the history of Dudhope, see Lamb, *Dundee: Its quaint and historic Buildings*. Ochterlony of Guynd describes Dudhope at this period as 'ane extraordinare pleasant and sweet place, a good house, excellent yards, much planting, and fyne parks. It lyes pleasantly on the syde of the hill of Dundie, overlooks the town, and as of purpose built there to command the place' (quoted in Warden, *Angus or Forfarshire*, vol. ii. p. 261).

² A. H. Millar, *Historic Castles and Mansions*, p. 399.

house Castle during the Grahams' tenure of the estate. A residence of some sort stood upon the property. Claverhouse's great-great-grandmother dated her will from the 'Barns of Claverhouse' in 1594.¹ Claypotts Castle, also, whose traditions disfigure Cardinal Beton and Claverhouse alike, was a family possession, but inadequate as a residence, since 1620.² To Claverhouse 'home' meant Glenogilvie.³ One of the earliest marks of royal favour had been solicited by him in regard to it.⁴ As a child of three it had sheltered him when Monck beleaguered Dundee.⁵ There he spent his last hours before he rode forth on the campaign which brought him immortality. It was his wife's home after his death. Ungrateful as it is to uproot local tradition, Dudhope Castle has its place in the story of Claverhouse's life largely for the reason that Claverhouse 'Castle' did not exist.

Dudhope had given its name to the Viscounty which Charles the First created in favour of Sir John Scrymgeour in 1641. Twenty years later (1661) his grandson John was created Earl of Dundee. He died without issue in 1668. His earldom and titles became extinct or dormant, and the Crown, as ultimate heir, granted his estates to Charles Maitland, Lord Hatton, brother of the first Duke, and his successor (24th August 1682) as third Earl, of Lauderdale.⁶ Hatton, soon after the Restoration, was appointed Master of the Mint in Scotland. For twenty years he exploited the office in his

¹ Testament of Geillis Gaw, *Edinburgh Testaments*, 22nd July 1595. The Barns of Claverhouse still exists, as a farm.

² *Scrymgeour-Wedderburn Charter Chest*, box iv. bundle iii. No. 3.

³ Ochterlony of Guynd, a neighbour and contemporary of Claverhouse, describes the property as 'a pleasant place, a good house, and well planted' (quoted in Warden, *Angus or Forfarshire*, vol. ii. p. 257).

⁴ See above, p. 97.

⁵ Monck's order of protection to 'the Lady Carniggess of the Glenn' and her children, dated 30th August 1651, is among the *Duntrune MSS.*

⁶ *Complete Peerage*, vol. iii. p. 179.

own interest. Not until June 1682, when a committee was appointed to examine into the state of the Mint, was his malversation exposed. On 20th March 1683 he was fined £72,000, the sum at which his defalcations were assessed, though the King reduced the fine to £20,000.¹ A trinity of conspirators watched the circumstances with interest. Aberdeen, the Chancellor, coveted Hatton's fine, or, in default, his Dundee property. Queensberry, the Treasurer, had hopes of the dukedom, which had lapsed with the death of Hatton's brother.² Claverhouse, with a watching brief for the others, was intent upon securing Dudhope for himself, and with it the Constableness of Dundee. He could claim the Scrymgeours in his ancestry.

From Newmarket, on 9th March 1683, Claverhouse sent Queensberry the first report of his mission. He assured him of the Duke of York's friendship, adding: 'It is hard to gate any business don here. I walked but nyn mylles this morning with the King, besids cock faighting and courses.'³ He sings the same burden four days later⁴: 'It is very hard to doe any thing here either with King or Deuk, for the Deuk hunts, besids going where ever the King goes.' Still, he could assure Queensberry, all went well: 'The Deuk is so proud of the success of our [Scottish] affairs, that he very justly atributs to himself the ryse and bigining of all to his sending me, contrair to the

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxxv. p. 350.

² The Duke of Lauderdale died at Tunbridge Wells on 24th August 1682. He was, writes Fountainhall (*Chronological Notes*, p. 25), 'the learndest and most powerful minister of state in his age.' He reflects the general feeling against the Duchess in his remark: 'discontent and age were the chief ingredients of his death, if his dutchess and phisitiens wer frie of it.'

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 275. York wrote to Queensberry on the same day: 'Yours by Clauers I receved since I came, and have discoursed with him at large of what you and the Chanceler [Aberdeen] had charged him with' (*ibid.*, p. 185).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276. The letter, which is seemingly printed out of its due order in the *Report*, is dated from Newmarket, 13th March 1683.

opinion of most except your Lordship and a few others, with those commissions in to Galloway; and the King is very resolved that it shall be followed; and all here magnify what you do, and says it is a good copie [for] them, and the noyse of it helps to keep there affairs right.' Claverhouse's flattery has a deft touch!

In his next letter (London, 20th March 1683)¹ his desire for Dudhope claims the pith of it: 'My Lord, I have written to my Lord Ch[ancellor] about a business concerns my self, of which he and I talked befor I parted,² as my Lady Aroll will tell you. I must bygue your Lordships assistance in that business of the lands of Didop. My Lord Ch[ancellor] deseins nothing but to sell it, and bay land in the north, seing he is to gat Stirling Castle to duell in.³ Wherfor I desyr lieve to ask the house of Didop and the Constablerie and other jurisdictions of Dondie belonging to my Lord Lauderdelles; and I offer to bay fourty chalders of victuall⁴ from my Lord Ch[ancellor] laying about it, tho I should sell other lands to doe it.' The legend of Claverhouse Castle vanishes before Claverhouse's explanation of his motive for purchase: 'I have no house,' he informs Queensberry, 'and it lays within half a myl of my land; and all that business would be extreemly convenient for me, and signify not much to my Lord Chancelour, especially seing I am willing to bay the land. I would take this for the greatest faveur in the world, for I cannot have the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 275.

² Napier (vol. ii. p. 321) prints a deposition by Claverhouse in 1685, in which he states that Aberdeen had commissioned him to secure for him 'a gift . . . of a thousand pounds sterling a-year, or twenty thousand pounds sterling, which was thought to be the equivalent.' The amount of Hatton's fine was £20,000. In the result Claverhouse secured the promise of £4000 of it for himself.

³ The Haddo estates are in Aberdeenshire. Claverhouse's prediction as to Stirling Castle was not fulfilled.

⁴ i.e. land producing that return.

patiance to build and plant.¹ The same letter carried news of his impending elevation to the Privy Council.²

¹ The legend of a castle inhabited by the Grahams upon their Claverhouse property seems to have arisen from the discovery, about 1793, of the ruins of a building of some pretensions upon the Claverhouse estate. That it was a secular building is by no means established. But even if it were, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was a ruin when the Grahams acquired the property, and that it served none of them as a residence. See correspondence in *The Dundee Advertiser* 7th, 9th, 14th July 1904. Claverhouse's categorical statement to Queensberry, that he possessed no 'house,' i.e. manor-house or castle, upon his property near Dundee is confirmed by the 'Contract Matrimoniall betwixt Colonell John Grahame of Claverhouse and Lady Jeane Cochrane,' dated 9th June 1684 (Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 88). The contract enumerates his property in detail. It mentions 'the toure, fortalice and maner place' of Glenogilvie, the ' fortalice and maner place ' of Claypotts, and 'the house' of Dudhope. It specifies merely 'all and heall the lands of Ballargus and Claverhouse, with the corne milne of the samen.' Had there been a manor place upon either it would have been specifically mentioned. Having regard to the retinue Claverhouse maintained at Dudhope, Claypotts was certainly inadequate to his needs.

It is possible to indicate the successive homes of the Claverhouse Grahams. Ballargus was acquired in 1481 by John Graham, son of Robert Graham of Strathcarron and Fintry and Matilda Scrymgeour (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, p. 327). He also, subsequent to 14th November 1503, acquired Claverhouse, and his son John had a charter of both properties from the Crown on 11th November 1532 (*Acta Dom. Conc. at Sessions* (MS.) xxiv. 36). Upon his resignation, his son—a third John—had a Crown charter (13th July 1541) erecting the two holdings into the single tenandry of Claverhouse (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1513-46, p. 551). The charter makes it clear that Ballargus was the principal residence of the family at that time. In 1594 the widow of William Graham of Claverhouse is found residing at the 'Barnes of Claverhouse' (*Edinburgh Testaments*, 22nd July 1595), and in May 1612 her grandsons witness a charter 'apud Claverhouse,' no doubt the same house (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1609-20, p. 285). In 1620, however, Sir William Graham, the then laird, bought Claypotts (*Scrymgeour-Wedderburn Charter Chest*, box iv. bundle iii. No. 3), and in 1640 he acquired Glenogilvie (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* (MS.) lx. 134). From that period Glenogilvie was the chief residence of the family, and from Claverhouse's statement in 1683 and his marriage-contract of 1684 it is clear that there was at that time neither upon the Claverhouse nor the Ballargus property any description of residence which met the precise definition of a 'manor house.'

² On the date of this letter (20th March 1683), Alexander, Earl of Moray, wrote from Whitehall to Queensberry: 'befor I left Newmarkit all matters wharin Claverous was instructed uer discouraged of befor the Kinge and order'd to be draune and dispatched according to your desyre' (*Hist. Comm. Rept. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 23). In his letter of 20th March 1683 Claverhouse remarks the advantage to

Dudhope, in the result, came tardily to Claverhouse; for Aberdeen developed and played an independent hand of his own. Queensberry's business halted at the outset. There were others, in fact, flying kites for titles or augmentation of them. Queensberry perhaps was impatient at hearing much of Dudhope and little of his dukedom. Claverhouse had a reminder. 'I was at my Lord Middleton's dining when your last came to my hands,' he wrote in answer.¹ 'Immediately after dinner, notwithstanding of all the orders of secrecy you have so strictly given me, I ventured, talking of the state of things, to tell him how necessary it was that some persons, whom I named,² should have equals; and finding he interested in to the same sense, I pushed it further, and told him that I had already sounded the Duke and had not found him averse.' 'But with all,' Claverhouse hastened to add, 'I told him that my lord treasurer,³ when I parted, had not given me the least order to that purpose; but, on the contrary, when I told him that it⁴ was proper for him and offered him my service, he positively desired me, if I tendered his interest, not to meddle with it; but that my Lord Chancellor had laid me Christian liberty.'⁵ Middleton fell in with the scheme, though he had other interests to advance. 'After

Queensberry of having the two Secretaries, Moray and Middleton, in his interests. The latter had hopes of Queensberry's influence to enable him to pay his debts.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. xv.*, pt. viii. p. 277. The letter is dated from London, 29th March 1683.

² Claverhouse refers to the Dukes of Hamilton and Buccleuch (Monmouth). His meaning is, that James's party ought to boast ducal dignitaries to match their opponents.

³ i.e. Queensberry himself.

⁴ i.e. a dukedom. In his deposition in 1685 (Napier, vol. ii. p. 321) Claverhouse states distinctly that before his coming up to London in 1683 he was commissioned by Queensberry, as well as Aberdeen, 'to move the late King, and King James, then Duke, some things relating to their present private affairs.'

⁵ One seems to discern Claverhouse's intention to suggest Queensberry's disinterestedness at the expense of Aberdeen.

having reasoned the business, and prepared against all difficultys [that] might be objected,' Claverhouse proceeds, 'we went to St. James', when we desyred of the Deuk to speak with leaseur with him; upon which he teuk us in to his closet, and having for introduction begun with the Mint business and my Lord Maitland, we fell imediatly on your affair. The Deuk proposed difficultys. We discussed all, and convinced him and made him acknouledge it, after having given many arguments from different heads; and then we tossed the business from hand to hand, that we broght him quyt about. Then it was concluded my Lord Huntlie must also be [created a Duke].¹ Then my Lord Midletoun spok of the Register.² It was not my pait to opose any thing that was proposed for a man hade often don me kyndness; but on the other hand I will take on my salvation that I never heard of it till that afternoon, nor believe I the Register expects it at this tyme; but it seems there has been sumthing betwixt them when the Register was here. The Deuk seemed very inclyned, and said, "Is it ane Earl?" and would have late it pass, as I thought, but my Lord Midletoun said, No, but a Vyscount, upon which the Deuk underteuk to indevor it all with the King. We had the francest conference that I believe ever was, and his Hyghness expressed a great deall of kyndness to you all. . . . He told us laghing, that we would all be as great tyrants as my Lord Lauder-delle was, and lait you alon.³ He has his owen maximes

¹ George Gordon, fourth Marquis of Huntly, was created first Duke of Gordon in 1684. He held Edinburgh Castle for the King during the meeting of the Convention of Estates in 1689.

² George Mackenzie. He was created Viscount Tarbat in 1685 and Earl of Cromarty in 1703.

³ The author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 136) misinterprets this phrase, 'and lait you alon,' as a jocose expression conveying Claverhouse's belief that Queensberry would justify James's apprehension. Such a meaning is entirely foreign to the context and to the tone of the letter. Claverhouse means that James had not been allowed to think that Queensberry was a party to the wire-pulling concerning the dukedom.

and politiques, but all was very friendly. . . . We shall not give over till we have brought it to a cloase, or it will feall at the King, which I hop not.' 'I hop,' he added, 'you will pardon me for puting my Lord Midleton on the secret. It does not concern you, seing he thinks it is with out your knouledge what we doe; and that it is mainly on the publict account we doe it. My Lord, it hade been better for me to have had all the honor of doing it alon, as by my last to my Lord Ch[ancellor] you will see in all apearance I might have don; but if your business be don, I shall be content with out considering who gate the thanks.' In recognition he suggested a gift from fines or forfeitures to Middleton. As to his own affair, he concluded: 'My Lord, I promise to my self that you will perswad my Lord Ch[ancellor] to consent to my gating Didop and the jurisdiction, which can not wrong him, seing I am willing to buay a pairt of the land.¹ My Lord, I have wryten this in great heast. I dout if you will be able to read it.'

Claverhouse's letter sheds a ruthless light upon the public life of his time. It is less pertinent to comment upon it than to point to the surprising position to which Claverhouse had attained. It was little more than four years since he had entered the public service of his country. Already he was recognised as the man to whose administration of Galloway James could attribute 'the ryse and bigining' of the success of his affairs;² whose

¹ Mr. Mowbray Morris (*Claverhouse*, p. 99) misapprehends the nature of Claverhouse's interest in this matter. He speaks of Claverhouse's 'designs on the fat acres of Dudhope.' What Claverhouse wanted was Dudhope Castle and the Constableness of Dundee. The limited purchase of land which he suggested was designed chiefly to commend the transaction to Aberdeen.

² In *Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen* (pp. 107-111), there is a lengthy report on Claverhouse's administration of Galloway in 1682. It is printed in the Spalding volume among the documents of 1683. It is endorsed: 'For the Earle of Aberdeen, Lord High Chancelour of Scotland.' It begins: 'Claverhouse being called befor the Comitty of

ability and address had rapidly opened to him a social circle, the *entrée* to which was barely his by birth; entrusted by the highest officials in Scotland with the management of intimate private affairs; cock-fighting, coursing, in royal company; the friend and adviser of the Heir-Apparent. The record is remarkable. Sheer ability, and the power to impress others with a sense of it, founded upon a satisfying belief in self, alone explain it.

If Queensberry's hopes were raised by Claverhouse's hasty but encouraging letter, they were dashed by its successor.¹ He had seen the Duke of York again, Claverhouse wrote, and had reminded him of Queensberry's business: 'I hoped he had not forgot to press the King to it. He told me he had used all the arguments he could to perswad the King; but that he could not move him to it. I did aledge that I feared the King or he must have been diverted from it by [the] English councell, and there upon took the liberty to tell him in a respectful way hou unsaive it wer to take measeurs from people that could not knou our business nor the circumstances of our affairs. The Deuk very fairly denyed all,

Counsell, gave this account of the affaires of Galouay.' The report is in the third person, and is obviously the account of some one who was present when the report was made. The phrase, 'Claverhouse *being called befor*' the Committee of Council, is proof that the report was not made at Edinburgh in 1683, for Claverhouse was then a Privy Councillor. The fact that Claverhouse had the Council's thanks on 15th May 1682 for his conduct in Galloway suggests that the real date of the report was May 1682, though it is hard to understand why Aberdeen should have been so aloof from Edinburgh as to require so lengthy a report. In any case there is no evidence that it was Claverhouse's composition. It is accepted as his both by the author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 125), and less emphatically by Mr. Mowbray Morris (*Claverhouse*, p. 94). It is important to lodge this *caveat*, for the terms of the report are somewhat at variance with the spirit which breathes in Claverhouse's letters to Queensberry (quoted in Chapter VI.) detailing his administration of Galloway. If the date of the report was in fact 1683, the presumption is that Claverhouse's report was made to the Committee of Council in London.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 278. It is dated from London, 10th April 1683.

but told me the King had been so vexed with the nobilitating people here (for when the door was once opened all would be in) that he could not willingly hear any thing upon that subject. I will say without vanity that nothing was unsaid that could make for the purpose; but the Deuk in end told me it was impossible. I told him then, that in all this I hade only raison to complean; for I was very seur that both the King and he would be at last convinced hou much it was there interest, and would certainly doe it; only I would be so unhapy as not to be the bearer; upon which the Deuk told me that he thocht some tyme after the King might be broght to it.' Claverhouse urged Queensberry not to be downhearted; 'for the gr[eat]est men in England ar glaid to gate it after many pulls. Therfor, contineu cheerfully your indevors in the Kings service, and it can not fail.' There was no need, he wrote two days later,¹ for Queensberry to 'take so easily alarums; the Deuk will not so easily alter the opinion he has of you.'

By the last week in April 1683 the Mint business had been settled. On 24th April the Duke of York informed Queensberry to that effect,² and added that Claverhouse would soon be sent back to Scotland. 'I only keep him here,' he explained, 'till the Archbishops and Generall [Dalziel] shall be come, and by him I shall answer all your letters.' 'As to the Mint,' Claverhouse wrote to Queensberry two days later,³ 'there is a letter ordered for your Lordship, telling that the King[s] pleaseur is that my Lord Lauderdeall dispon to the Chancelour the lands about Dondie, and to me the house and jurisdiction,⁴ for which I render your Lordship most hairty thanks.' He

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 280. The letter is dated from London, 12th April 1682.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 280. The letter is dated from London, 26th April 1683.

⁴ i.e. the Constablership of Dundee.

was 'to pairt next week,' he added. His departure was delayed however. Early in May 1683 he left London for Windsor, and spent a fortnight there.¹ Dalziel's visit, some grievance he brought with him, and a difficulty which had arisen between Queensberry and the city of Edinburgh, were the matters which detained him.² On 3rd May he announced that the King's orders regarding the Mint were 'sent down by this post.'³ The document was received at Edinburgh on 10th May, and was read at Council. It announced the mitigation of Lauderdale's fine from £72,000 to £20,000. It granted the whole of that amount to Aberdeen and Claverhouse—£16,000 to the former, and £4000 to the latter. But it stipulated that if Lauderdale, with his son Richard, Lord Justice-Clerk, disposed Dudhope and his property within a ten-mile radius of Dundee to Aberdeen, he should be 'free of the forsaid summe of 20,000 lb. sterling.' In that event Claverhouse was empowered to redeem from Aberdeen the house, yards, and parks of Dudhope, and the Constableship of Dundee, at twenty years' purchase.⁴

The last days of Claverhouse's visit brought other marks of favour. On 11th May 1683 a royal letter to the Scottish Privy Council announced the addition of Colonel

¹ On 28th April 1683 he writes to Queensberry: 'My Lord Middleton and I goe on Monday for Windsor, when we will be seur to doe what we oght' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 281).

² See York's letters of 3rd and 9th May 1683, in *ibid.*, pp. 188, 189. In the latter, York writes: 'The Old General is now a going back, and I hope better satisfy'd then when he came from Scotland, his Majesty hauing caused Lord Morray to write downe to the Chanceler, about some little things which were but resonable.'

³ *Ibid.*, p. 281. In 1685 Claverhouse stated that this letter was drawn up at the King's command by Middleton and himself, 'who best knew the lands and the nature of the gift.' He added further, that he wrote to Aberdeen on the matter, and 'had his approbation.' See Napier, vol. ii. p. 322.

⁴ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 438. Fountainhall says that thirty years' purchase would have been a fairer price, in the opinion of some, 'because of the great dependance and superiority.'

John Graham of Claverhouse to their number.¹ On the following day (12th May) a warrant was issued for a commission to his brother, David Graham, to be conjunct-Sheriff of Wigton.² On 14th May, seemingly, Claverhouse set out from Windsor upon his return to Scotland.³ A warrant to the Scottish Treasury for payment of £200 to him was signed on the same day.⁴

Note.—In addition to Claverhouse's letters to Queensberry quoted in this chapter, there is evidence of a concurrent correspondence with the Chancellor, Aberdeen. The letters are not among those included in the Spalding Club volume, and probably do not now exist. The dates of two of them were 13th March 1683, 31st March 1683. Fragments of Aberdeen's replies are printed in Napier, vol. ii. pp. 322-24.

¹ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. viii. fol. 59.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 73; *Paper Register* (MS. Register House), x. 362. The Reverend Archibald Stewart, in *History vindicated in the Case of the Wigton Martyrs* (2nd edit. p. 23), inaccurately dates David Graham's commission as 12th May 1682. The commission was 'during pleasure,' and therefore lapsed with the death of Charles the Second.

³ On 13th May 1683 York writes to Queensberry from Windsor: 'This goes to you by Clavers, to whom I must refer for severall things I have to say to you, and to informe you how things go here' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 189).

⁴ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. viii. fol. 70.

CHAPTER VIII

PRIVY COUNCILLOR

THE league between Aberdeen, Queensberry, and Claverhouse, founded on mutual interests, briefly survived Claverhouse's return to Scotland. Claverhouse found himself thwarted by Aberdeen in his impatient hopes of Dudhope. Queensberry, who had imagined rather than actual ground for suspecting the sincerity of Claverhouse's representations on his behalf, was ready to attribute to him his failure to secure a dukedom. He viewed, also, Aberdeen's ascendancy in Scotland with some dislike, and suspected Claverhouse to be his rival's backer in high quarters. Their quarrel grew to considerable dimensions, and entailed upon Claverhouse the single check in the steady stream of royal favour which bore his ambition onward. Incidentally one adds Queensberry—but not yet—to the long roll of those in high place whom Claverhouse fearlessly challenged. The Dalrymples, the Hamiltons, the Maitlands, Aberdeen, Queensberry, at one time or another had his assault! To his superiors he can have inspired hardly less dismay than his 'terrible cornet of horse' to George the Third. Claverhouse, indeed, shared in no mean degree the resolute, unshrinking courage of Pitt, and that nice appreciation of his own powers which enabled an earlier Prime Minister to prophesy, in retrospect, an Archbishopric as his equally obvious and inevitable attainment!

On 22nd May 1683, upon his return to Scotland,

Claverhouse was sworn of the Privy Council.¹ His services were soon commanded elsewhere, to complete the work which his London visit had interrupted. During his absence the Council had resolved upon a new method whereby to compel the disturbed shires to obedience and good conduct. 'The main concern of the Government,' as Professor Hume Brown remarks,² 'was still the suppression of that intractable remnant which defied every engine of authority that had been directed against them. Though they had now lost their second great leader, Cargill, they still met in the moors and mosses and hills to pray and preach, and to denounce woes to their idolatrous rulers. . . . Outlaws by their own choice, they were now hunted, in their own phrase, like partridges on the mountains.' How to deal with them offered a subject of difference to the authorities. Indulgence and indemnity had failed of result, but there were those who were disposed still to rely upon it. The policy had Claverhouse's convinced opposition. 'My Lord,' he had written to Queensberry on 1st April 1682,³ 'we hear noyse here of ane Indulgence. I hop no body is so mad as to advyse it; but Lord Tuedell⁴ could not goe up [to London] but it would be thoght ane Indulgence would com doun with him.' His own visit to London in the next year, apart from the personal motives which inspired it, had been as the emissary and mouthpiece of the party of 'thorough' in the Council.⁵ The report he had given of his pacification of Galloway was clearly offered in support of the policy which he was anxious to see confirmed and extended. It had impressed both the

¹ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 441.

² *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 420.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 272. The letter is dated from Kirkcudbright.

⁴ John Hay, second Earl and first Marquis of Tweeddale.

⁵ Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 94.

King and the Duke of York, he was able to report from Newmarket on 13th March 1683, adding that 'the King is very resolved that it shall be followed.'¹

The fruit of Claverhouse's representations was a royal proclamation of 13th April 1683. 'Seeing we are now fully persuaded,' it ran, 'that it is neither difference in religion, nor tenderness of conscience (as it is pretended), but merely principles of disloyalty and disaffection to us and our government, that moves them (under pretext of religion) to disturb the quiet of our reign and peace of this our ancient kingdom,' the King commanded the institution of a circuit Court of Justiciary to open at Stirling on 5th June 1683, and to proceed thence to Glasgow (12th June), Ayr (19th June), Dumfries (26th June), Jedburgh (3rd July), and Edinburgh (10th July).² Its work was to complete within a larger area the task which Claverhouse had undertaken in Galloway. Fittingly, therefore, on 4th June 1683, the Sheriff of Wigton was ordered to accompany the Court, to be ready 'to depone on oath, anent any persons guilty of treason, or reset of rebels, or whatever shall be inquired of them by the Justices.'³ He had already on 31st May been commanded to attend the Justices in another capacity, with commission to command the forces in each place visited by the Court, except Glasgow and Stirling, where Dalziel was expected to be present.⁴

The circuit opened at Stirling on 5th June 1683. Three days later (8th June) an incident occurred which was in

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 276.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 475.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 483.

⁴ Order of Council, 31st May 1683, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 343. The members of the Court were the Earl of Perth (Lord Justice-General), Lord Richard Maitland (Lord Justice-Clerk), Sir James Foulis of Colinton, Sir John Lockhart of Castlehill, and Sir David Balfour of Forret (Lords of Session). The Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the 'Bluidy Advocate,' was public prosecutor (*ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 353).

some degree its justification. On that day five troopers of the Horse Guards were conveying a prisoner named Smith to Glasgow. At Inchbelly, between that town and Kilsyth, his rescue was effected by a party of seven well-wishers, 'who had darned them selves in a house on a strait pass on the high way.' As the prisoner and his escort passed the ambush, a volley brought down two of the Guards. One was left dead upon the place; the other was wounded. Their assailants, with the prisoner, immediately scattered. Four escaped westward. The remainder made their way towards Hamilton, and two of them were captured, 'the insolentest rogues that ever I spoke to,' Hamilton reported. The next morning (9th June) both of them were sent under escort to Glasgow.¹ Claverhouse had the news of the event at Stirling. 'This murder they have comitted,' was his comment, 'gives us all neu vigueur.'²

Closely following the proceedings of the circuit, Claverhouse, on 9th June 1683, wrote both to Queensberry and Aberdeen from Stirling. 'This Justice Air has succeeded mervilusly,' he told the former. 'The Judges goe on very unanimously, and my Lord Advocat does wonders.' The Test had been generally accepted, and the number of 'fugitives' would be small.³ A single capital sentence had been imposed. Claverhouse wrote at length upon the

¹ The Duke of Hamilton to Queensberry, dated from Hamilton, 9th June 1683, in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, p. 282. On 14th June 1683 the two men concerned in the affair, whom Hamilton had apprehended, were executed at Glasgow. The Lords of Justiciary reported to Aberdeen: 'We have ordered the gallows to stand, for the better instruction of the great numbers of rebells who ar cited to appeir befor this court' (*Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 126). The two men were John Wharry and James Smith, the inscription on whose monument appears in Thomson's *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, edit. 1903, p. 239. According to Fountain-hall (quoted in Napier, vol. ii. p. 361), they were Lesmahagow men. Wharry he calls 'M'Wherrie.'

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 281.

case to Aberdeen.¹ The man's name was William Bogue.² He had been 'out' in '79, and now presented himself with 'a fals sham certificat' purporting that he had taken the bond of Indemnity.³ He was asked on his oath whether he had taken the bond or not, but would not answer. He refused to call Bothwell Bridge rebellion, or Sharp's death, murder. He was offered benefit of the Indemnity if he would take the Test, but refused. 'Upon which,' Claverhouse adds, 'the Judges, moved by the outcry of all the bystanders,'⁴ put the man on his trial forthwith for high treason and brought him in guilty. The wretched man thereupon offered to take the Test, but 'with the old gloss—as far as it consisted with the Protestant religion and the glorie of God; and after that was refused him, offered in end to take it any way.' 'By all which,' Claverhouse concluded, 'it clearly apears that he would doe any thing to saive his lyf; but nothing to be reconciled to the goverment.'

Bogue's tardy willingness to take the Test placed the Court in some difficulty. His execution was postponed in order that the Chancellor's ruling might be received.⁵ It could not be 'thought any sourty for the government,'

¹ *Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 121.

² The name also appears as Boick and Boag.

³ The Lords of Justiciary in their report to Aberdeen (*ibid.*, p. 116) state that the certificate was 'blank in the cristined name.' The certificate was signed by Sir William Paterson, Clerk of Council (Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 443).

⁴ The Lords of Justiciary, detailing the case to Aberdeen, write: 'advocats, and some of the very persons that wer cited as pannells, called out that he might goe to the knowledge off ane inqueest' (*Letters*, etc., p. 116).

⁵ See Maitland's letter of 9th June 1683 to Aberdeen in *Letters*, etc. p. 118. Fountainhall (*Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 443) says the Justices would 'willingly have repreeved' Bogue, but 'would not attempt it without the Chancelor's consent.' He adds, that 'publick intimation was made in the Court that Boog was not hanged for refusing the Test (as the rumor was put to fright others from compearing), but for his being in the rebellion at Bothuel Bridge.'

Claverhouse pointed out to Aberdeen, 'the taking of the Test by men after they ar condemned; seing the casuists agree that ane oath imposed where the alternative is hanging can[not] any ways be binding; and it is to be suposed, who refused it when they had the freedom of choyse, and taks it after condemned, does it only because they think themselves not bound to keep it.' In favour of mercy there was a single argument, and that amounted to little. 'All that I can hear of inconvenience,' Claverhouse continued, 'is, that it may terify those in his circumstances to com in. It may be said that his caise may be mistaken, and it may deter all from coming in. Experience of this day answers that. Above tuenty have taken the Test since he was condemned; and the terror of his usadge, as I am informed, is lyke to cause most com in that ar to-day declaired fugitives, of which the number, in four shyres, will not be much above a hondred. If this man should not be hanged, they would take advantage that they have disapointed us by rescueing the other, and given us such apreensions that we durst not venter on this.' There follows a glimpse of character, luminous and by no means isolated: 'I am as sorry to see a man day [die], even a whigue, as any of them selfs; but when on days justly for his owen faults, and may saue a hondred to fall in the lyk, I have no scrupull.' Upon Aberdeen his representations¹ had their effect. Bogue was executed at Glasgow and is enrolled among the martyrs, not wholly deservedly.² The two men of the Inchbelly incident completed the death-roll of the entire circuit.

¹ Fountainhall's declaration as to the merciful disposition of the Judges is not confirmed by their own correspondence.

² His grave is in Campsie churchyard, and bears the inscription: 'Erected in memory of William Boick, who suffered at Glasgow June xiv. MDCLXXXIII for his adherence to the Word of God and Scotland's Covenanted Work of Reformation.

'Underneath this stone doth lie
Dust sacrificed to tyranny

The Court of Justiciary opened at Glasgow on 12th June 1683. Claverhouse anticipated that its session would deal with 'the most considerable things' of the circuit, and had promised Queensberry an account of them.¹ But no letter from him is extant. A glimpse of him, and of the proceedings there, comes from the Duke of Hamilton's unfriendly pen. 'Claverhouse and the [Lord Justice-] Clarke are the cheife derectors' of the Court, he reported on 14th June. 'It is not in my pouer to expres to yow what I saw and heard there,' he wrote a few days later. 'I can not tell you how many are declared fugitives, for the Clarke himself could not tell when he left Glasgow, and denounced onely the absents in generall, so I hope the leidges are securr untill their names are knouen. Many more bothe of gentlemen and tenants tooke the Test then I expected, none assoillied how inocent so euer, but all bound over to ansuer at Edinburgh the 24th of July nixt.'² At Ayr, on 19th June, the Laird of Freuch's neighbour, the Provost of Stranraer, indicted for 'actuell rebellion,' threw himself upon the mercy of the Court, and was handed over to Claverhouse to receive safe-conduct.³ At Dumfries no fact regarding Claverhouse emerges save the town's expenditure of one pound ten shillings *Scots* 'for a pound of candle ilk night to Claver-

Yet precious in Immanuel's sight
Since martyred for his kingly right.'

(Thomson, *Martyr Graves*, p. 243.)

Thomson says that nothing is known of Bogue, but Fountainhall (*Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 443) describes him as 'tennent in Auchinreoch.' As to the date of his execution, which is given as 14th June in the inscription above, the Lords of Justiciary, writing to Aberdeen (*Letters*, etc., p. 126) on 13th June, declare that Bogue was hanged 'this day.' They add that he died 'adhereing to his wicked principles, and pretending he was a martyr; which justified the sentence even in this humourous shyre.'

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 282.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 254.

³ *Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 128.

house's troop, when they kept guard the time the Judges were here.'¹ The circuit opened at Jedburgh the following week.

Claverhouse was still in attendance upon the Judges when news of the Rye House Plot reached Scotland. Moray at Whitehall opined that some of the 'helishe plotinge criwe' would seek shelter in Scotland.² On 3rd July 1683 it was remitted to Claverhouse and two others to draft a proclamation to deal with the crisis.³ On 5th July he reported to Aberdeen from Jedburgh the steps he had taken to patrol the Border:⁴ 'I have comanded fourty dragoons to the Langom [Langholm], which is the hairt of the Deuk of Monmouth's interest; and tuenty there ar at Anan. My troupe lays at Moffet, and a pairt of Captain Strachan's troupe at Dumfries, to cape what may eskeep the tuo advanced posts. They have orders conform to the proclimation. On this hand we have sent out three partys of ten horses a piece, who have orders to bate along the Borders, and corespond with the pairtys of Langom and Coll. Struthers on the other seyd. So soon as the Lords [of Justiciary] ar gon, all the troupes here shall march to different posts closs on the border. . . . I am glad to hear that the conspiracy is lyk to be so well discovered, and that the King resolves so sudenly and vigourusly to bring to punishment the wicked authors of it. We hear from people comes from the other seyd, that great dilligence is doing there for search of those traitors.'

Claverhouse later took his share in the examination of

¹ Quoted from the town's records, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 362.

² The Earl of Moray sends information to Aberdeen on 21st June 1683 (*Letters*, etc., p. 130). It is curious to notice that the Duke of York, writing to Queensberry on 22nd June, ends his letter with the statement: 'All things, God be thanked, go uery well in this country' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 192).

³ *State Papers, Domestic, Car. II.*, Bundle 428, fol. 141.

⁴ *Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 138.

those implicated in the Plot. In the interval he is traceable mainly in his correspondence with Queensberry, whose attitude was becoming increasingly suspicious and unfriendly. Claverhouse's relations with the Chancellor and Dalziel at the Council Board were also strained and difficult, and in the military measures which the general situation entailed, he was subjected to orders whose wisdom he doubted, or was thwarted in measures which he regarded as necessary. 'I have spok to the Chancelor,' he wrote on 28th August 1683,¹ 'that the generall [Dalziel] might be called for against the councell day, and all things concerning the disposing the quarters for the troupes might be adjousted. He seemed to inclyn that I should give a sheam (*sic*) of it in wryting, which I am unwilling to doe in the terms we ar in, not knowing what use might be made of it. Houever, befor the Kings service suffer I will ventur on it.' Especially he was concerned for his particular province, Galloway. 'I thoght I had prepared that affair of the garisons so well,' he wrote a fortnight later,² 'that there could not have been the least difficulty in it; for my Lord Chancelor seemed satisfyed and made me wryt about it to the Generall, but when it came in councell the Ch[ancellor] refered all to the Generall. I sustined with all the might I could; but was not able to bring about the Generall nor perswad the councell to doe it of themselves.'³ . . . Houever, the thing being so reasonable, and a proposell of your Lordships, and sustined by me, who they had raison to believe understood that contry, your Lordship may easily guess I was

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 282. The letter is dated from Edinburgh.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283. The letter is dated from Edinburgh, 13th September 1683.

³ Exercising his commission to place his troops where he liked, Claverhouse desired to garrison certain houses in Galloway without further warrant than the consent of their owners. See his letter of 28th August 1683.

not well satisfied ; and I took the liberty to tell my Lord Ch[ancellor], that if the Deuk [of York] had been at that boord, as he was when I was first sent to Galloway, I would have been believed in maters of that contry, especially when I was but seconding my Lord Treasuror. The Ch[ancellor] then desyred the Gen[eral], my Lord Linlithgou and Livingston and I to confer about it nixt morning, which would have turned to nothing, had not your Lordships letter com to my Lord Chancellor ;¹ which pleased him so well that there was not the least difficulty thereafter. . . . I then asked whither or not I should continue my former cair of that contry [Galloway] or not. The Ch[ancellor] shuned to make answer ; but being pressed, all he answered was, that they took nothing from me. After I asked hou they would dispose of my troupe. The Ch[ancellor] had a mynd it should lay here for a tyme ; the generall was for sending it to Fyfe. I told it was usless to the King[s] service here, and would be so in Fyfe. I desyred it might be sent to Comlok,² Maybolle or som place neer Galloway ; that in caise there be need I may mak inrods nou and then. It was refered to the Generall. So I knou not hou it will be, but I am seur I am very indifferent ; for I told in Councell that wherever it went I thocht may self no ways oblidged to march with it, because that was the Cap. Lievtenents business.' 'I see not that the Court grous much here,' he added : 'I fynd myself worse there evry day, but I take no notice of it. I goe thither as I used to doe, but only when I have business of publik concern ; and houeever things goe am resolved to doe as a good subject oght and a man of honor. I will by no means prejudge the Kings service for my interest, nor will I doe mean things to insinuat

¹ Later in the letter Claverhouse advises Queensberry 'not to stand upon the cerimony of writing first' to Aberdeen.

² Cumnock.

myself.' There is nothing in his life to prove him untrue to that ideal of duty. For the moment he and his more resolute policy alike were out of harmony with his colleagues.

To Ayrshire Claverhouse appears to have gone with his troop. He writes to Queensberry from Ayr on 27th September 1683.¹ The Dudhope affair was still unsettled and he was anxious for permission, on that and other grounds, to go up to London. By 12th October he was back at Edinburgh. His projected visit to Court had been vetoed in high quarters, and he betook himself for a fortnight to Angus and home.² But Aberdeen's supremacy was already threatened. So long ago as 28th August 1683³ Claverhouse had answered Queensberry's jealous doubts: 'Houever suspects me of having given advice to the Deuk to lait things be governed by the chief minister alon, wrong me mightily. I can apeall to the Deuk and my Lord Midleton, if I did not always say that things by cause of secrecy oght to be managed by you tuo;⁴ and if you could not agree, by a Juncto; and I think I was right.' 'If the Juncto be not fixed again winter,' he wrote on the eve of his departure for Angus, 'all will yet goe wrong.'⁵ Upon his return to Edinburgh he wrote again to Queensberry:⁶ 'The affaire of the Juncto is no secret here, and every body thinks it was the only thing could have keeped people⁷ with in bounds; but by what I can learn, if it be at all, it will turn to the old Juncto, or to the officers of state only.' His forecast was fulfilled. On 13th December 1683 the Council at Edinburgh

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 285.

² See his letter of 12th October 1683 in *ibid.*, p. 285.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁴ i.e. Queensberry and Aberdeen.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 285.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 286. The letter is dated from Edinburgh, 30th October 1683.

⁷ i.e. Aberdeen.

received the King's letter appointing his seven Ministers of State 'to manage all affairs there.' The rest of the Councillors, Fountainhall remarked, would have little to do 'save to ratify their conclusions.'¹ There is no hint that Claverhouse anticipated such a consequence. The Junta at least extinguished Aberdeen, with whose policy he was little in accord.

With the formation of the Junta, Claverhouse's letters cease for a time. He is traced fitfully in the autumn and winter of 1683. The Government was eagerly unravelling the skeins of the recent Plot, and Claverhouse took his share in the work. The Scottish Council formed a sub-committee for the purpose, and Claverhouse was placed upon it. On 10th December 1683 papers from London relating to the Scottish prisoners were remitted to it for consideration.² Evidence remotely implicating Sir John Cochrane—with whose family Claverhouse was shortly to enter into intimate and unexpected relations—was before the sub-committee on 11th December. Two days later (13th December) Sir Alexander Gordon of Earlston was examined, and sentence on him was deferred.³

In the opening months of 1684 Claverhouse's movements are still vaguely traced. A letter from the Council to the King on 23rd January asking permission, in certain cases, to dispense the fines imposed upon husbands for the irregularities of their nonconforming wives, had his signature.⁴ In April he was again in the saddle. A recommendation of the Council to Dalziel (22nd April)⁵ that Colonel Graham should command the troops in Ayrshire—including Lord Ross's troop of his own regiment, five companies of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Buchan's foot regiment,

¹ Quoted in Napier, vol. ii. p. 382.

² Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 71.

³ *State Papers, Domestic, Car. II.*, Bundle 438, fol. 9, 81.

⁴ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 12.

and half of the troop of Horse Guards—impelled Claverhouse to call upon his chief. He gave Queensberry an account of his visit:¹ 'I called at the Generalls this fornoone, and he was gon out to diner. Som time after he sent the order of councell to me without any order from himself, and sent me word by his servant that that was all he hade to say. I told his man I would wait on him imediatly after diner, and when I cam to his lodging, his man told me he was layen down, and that he had not been well for som days. I offered to stay till he was awak, but his man told me I needed not, for he would give me no other orders. I can doe nothing without his orders, for act of councell says the Generall is to comand my Lord Balcares² troupe and mine and Cap. Clielands to Clidsdelle; and that he should give orders to Coll. Bouchan and me to comand there. Houever, least the Kings service suffer in the time, I will goe and join my Lord Ross troupe, till the half of the Gairds and the other troops com. I hop your Lordship will cause dispatch them. If the Generall will not, the councell may give the orders imediatly to the respective troupes.'

The renewal of military activity was largely necessary, in Claverhouse's opinion, because of Aberdeen and Dalziel's earlier neglect of the measures he had urged. In November 1683 York had drawn Queensberry's attention to a new outburst of 'feild conventicles and other meettings of late amongst the disorderly people.'³ He was, he added, of Queensberry's mind, 'that, if every body would bestur themselvs and be as diligent as you, it would not be so easi for them to meett; but I hope when

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 286. The letter is undated, but is clearly of April 1684. Napier (vol. ii. p. 370), who miedates many of the Queensberry letters, assigns this one to August 1683.

² The Earl of Balcarres had been recently commissioned to a troop in Claverhouse's regiment. See Appendix i.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 198.

you all [of the Junto] are at Edenburgh, you will do your parts to hinder them.' The reproach rang the knell of Aberdeen. Claverhouse's insistence upon the wisdom of planting garrisons in the disaffected districts stood justified. By 19th May 1684 he had fulfilled his commission, and had returned to Edinburgh to give account of his proceedings. Dalziel's ill-will had pursued him to the last. After much delay he had given Claverhouse his orders, 'but he is in a terrible huff,' Claverhouse reported to Queensberry:¹ 'I marched to Air,' he continued, 'with Coll. Bouchan and the fyve compagnies of foot, and the half of the Gairds with my Lord Ross troupe. After which I went in to Galloway, and visited the houses apointed for garisons,² and I fynd them very propre; so soon as beds and other necessarys ar provyded the troupes will enter into them, which will be imediatly. I was at Dumfries, and gave all necessary orders for those that lay there . . .; after which I went into Clidsdelle, and considered the houses apointed for garisons there. They are propre enough for the use, but by what I can perceive, they will not be provyded on a sudain with necessarys. I am nou com in to give the Comitty account of this, and to knou if there be any thing further to be don in those contrys for the Kings service. I fynd the want of the garisons in Galloway,³ and the withdrawing the forces from the shyre of Air, has occasioned all the insolency that appeared in those rogues this last winter, and nou that the troops ar so posted I shall answer for the peace and good order of all those contreys, which in a maner is all the fanatik pairt of the kingdom.' Renfrewshire was also within the purview of his commission, and thence, a few weeks later,

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 287. The letter is dated from Edinburgh, 19th May 1684.

² The houses were Kaitloch, Ballagan, Kenmure, and Machermore in Minnigaff (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 12).

³ He had himself recommended them. See above, p. 142.

he took his wife from a family tainted with adherence to principles of which he was, in his own phrase, the 'cleanser.'

Meanwhile Claverhouse, with characteristic tenacity, had been pursuing his quest of Dudhope. Its possession came to him only on the eve of his marriage; for the business proved long and tedious. In May 1683 the Crown had given its decision in the Mint affair. Lauderdale was condemned in £20,000. One-fifth of the fine was given to Claverhouse, but should Lauderdale alternatively convey his Dundee lands to the Chancellor, Claverhouse was empowered to purchase Dudhope and the Constableship of Dundee from Aberdeen at twenty years' purchase. It would, in fact, have been financially better for Claverhouse had he taken the £4000; for his twenty years' purchase of Dudhope brought him no more than four years' interest upon a capital outlay almost equivalent to a year's rental of his whole property.¹ But he coveted Dudhope as a residence. It befitted his rising station and the greater honours he anticipated. To the Constable of Dundee it was particularly appropriate. At the outset Aberdeen and his partner in the spoiling of Lauderdale held together amicably. On 20th July 1683 Claverhouse and he jointly signed a procuratory to James Carnegie, a Writer to the Signet, to require Lauderdale and his son, the Lord Justice-Clerk, to surrender the Dundee property.² Aberdeen, however, made his own terms with Lauderdale. The Chancellor desired cash rather than land. In August 1683 he agreed to accept from Lauderdale £8000 down, and security for a further £1600. In return he assigned to him Claverhouse's right to purchase Dudhope. Lauder-

¹ He paid £8000 *Scots* for Dudhope. His income at the time of his death is given by David Graham of Duntrune as £7739, 18s. 4d. *Scots* (*Duntrune MSS.*).

² *Duntrune MSS.*

dale then approached Claverhouse, and offered him Dudhope and the Constableness on the terms which Aberdeen had been empowered to exact. The transaction was ingenious.¹ By a collusive arrangement Lauderdale was relieved of the alternative payment to Claverhouse of the £4000, to which he was clearly entitled if Lauderdale failed to transfer his Dundee property to the Chancellor. Claverhouse's purchase money, in fact, was to enable Lauderdale to satisfy and compound with Aberdeen. Claverhouse's passive acquiescence can have seemed probable to neither of them. Their hopes rested chiefly upon a vigorous campaign of misrepresentation at Court. Letters to the King and Duke from Lauderdale and his son were sent up, 'so stuff with lyes, and so unjust to Claverhouse, so flatering of the Chanslour, that I shall not feall to make the truth knoun,' Melfort wrote to Queensberry on 1st September 1683.² Melfort used his influence in Claverhouse's interest,³ and York assured him that Lauderdale should have no exoneration until Claverhouse was 'justly and truely payed.'⁴ Claverhouse had other friends at Court. 'Whyll I am wryting,' he told Queensberry on 13th September 1683, 'I just nou received a

¹ Fountainhall (*Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 440) describes the transaction thus: 'In August 1683 the Chancellor and Lauderdale agrees; and so he reaps the fruit of all this pains he had tane in carrieng on a decreet and fyne for his oun use; he accepts of the halfe, viz. 8000 *lb.* sterling, or 100,000 *lb.* Scots, and 20,000 *lb.* Scots farder, when they shall be able, and wheiron they gave him Sir William Sharp, Cockburne, &c., cautioners; and having gotten an assignation to the Chancellor's right, they offered to Claverhouse (who resented the Chancellor's transacting for himselfe, and deserting him and entring in freindship with Halton) the house, yeards, and old park of Dudhop, with the constabulary of Dundy for 20 years purchasse, as he was to have payed to the Chancellor, in whose place they ware come; and they being debtors *alternative* in 4000 *lb.* sterling, or that offer, they elected this last; which he declined to accept:—So the freindship betuen the Chancellor and Claveris, bottomed on interest, heir falls asunder.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 127.

³ See his letter of 3rd September 1683 in *ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131. The letter is dated 5th September 1683.

letter from my Lord Advocat telling me my business is don, and on from my Lord Midleton, giving me account of his diligence, that the Deuk had promised no remission should pass till I was satisfied. Colin [Mackenzie] wryts that ane explanatory letter is to com down that will leave no ground of debat.¹

In spite of encouraging reports from Court, Claverhouse pressed for permission to come up to London, the more so as Maitland was already there. But by 12th October 1683 Claverhouse had heard definitely that the Duke had 'no mynd I should com up; but gives all assurances that he will have the thing performed with out fraud or trik.' He added: 'Great pakets in great heast com from my Lord Maitland to my Lord Chancellor.'² With Aberdeen's influence already somewhat at a discount, his collusive transaction with Lauderdale furnished his adversaries with another cry in their eager pursuit of him. Melfort writes to Queensberry on 20th October 1683: 'It is lyke the Chanslour is the occatione of Claverhous his not comeing up. But I am of opinione it is the uors for him, for if all had come out nou, and nothing had followed on it, I am affrayed all might be forgott. But it being still refreshed by other complaints, uill make all go better, for ther are too many things to gain all ue desire at this bout. And Claverhous uill lose nothing by it, for Maitland shal get nothing done. Upon the contrary, I am of opinione the Duke will command him to giv obedience to the King's desire in that mater.'³ Maitland, in fact, was sent back to Scotland, and Claver-

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 284. Claverhouse had asked for permission to come up to London (*ibid.*, p. 282). ² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 156. Melfort wrote to Queensberry a week earlier (13th October 1683): 'I am of your opinione anent Claverhous coming up, and shal againe endeavour it. But I am affrayed the Duke uill not desire to kno mor then he does in that mater, for he is mor then convinced of the truthes.'

house had renewed assurances, he told Queensberry, that 'the Deuk will not see me wronged.'¹

With considerable support behind him Claverhouse prepared to make his case against Lauderdale good at law.² Moray, at the King's command, recommended arbitration.³ The proposal was without result. On 24th January 1684 Claverhouse's case was opened before the Lords of Session.⁴ In spite of Lauderdale's attempt to delay or quash the hearing, the case was continued on 31st January. Lauderdale now offered Dudhope and the Constable's office on the original terms—twenty years' purchase. Claverhouse objected. It had been expressly 'commoved,' he declared, between himself and Aberdeen, that he should obtain the estate for nothing. It is eminently probable that some such bait had been offered by Aberdeen to gain Claverhouse's concurrence in his private arrangement with Lauderdale. Since Aberdeen had abandoned his claim upon the Dundee property, it was immaterial to him whether it remained intact to Lauderdale, or was shorn of Dudhope to satisfy Claverhouse. Aberdeen, however, denied the statement from the Bench. Claverhouse asseverated the fact with such heat as to draw a reproof from one of the Judges. He still protested, that while the King's award of the Mint fine had made Aberdeen and himself joint-donators, Aberdeen had compounded with Lauderdale for a cash consideration. To force him to purchase his share of the donative was, therefore, to render it 'no donative at all,' since he was required to pay for it 'the full worth and

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 286. The letter is dated from Edinburgh, 30th October 1683.

² A document endorsed 'Information for the Laird of Claverhouse against the Earl of Lauderdale and Sir Richard Maitland his son,' dated 26th November 1683, is among the *Duntrune MSS.*

³ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. viii. fol. 217. The letter is dated 8th December 1683. See Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 471.

⁴ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 486.

more.'¹ He failed, however, to carry the Court with him. On the following day (1st February) the Lords of Session fixed twenty years' rental of Dudhope as the purchase price, and ordered a valuation of the property for the purpose of computing it. Lauderdale was instructed meanwhile to prepare a deed of conveyance of the property to Claverhouse.² After an interval of three weeks the Court (28th February 1684) fixed £6000 *Scots* as the purchase price, and ordered conveyance of the property to Claverhouse before the following 20th March.³ Lauderdale failed to obey. On 29th March 1684 a royal letter was before the Council peremptorily ordering him to 'perfyt his disposition to Claverhouse' within eight days thereafter, under threat of withdrawing the remission of the original and larger fine imposed on him for his Treasury defalcations.⁴ Lauderdale thereupon gave tardy obedience. On 23rd April 1684 'the King's familiar Councillor, Colonel John Grahame of Claverhouse, his heirs and assignees whomsoever,' received a Crown charter of Dudhope Castle, the lands of Castlehill, the office of Constable of Dundee, and the absolute right to be first magistrate and officer under the King in the town of Dundee and all its territories in all time coming. Severed from the residue of the old

¹ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 490. Since, under the terms of the King's award of Lauderdale's fine, Claverhouse was granted an alternative right to acquire Dudhope, etc., on twenty years' purchase, it is clear that Claverhouse's challenge to that arrangement was due to the transaction between Aberdeen and Lauderdale in the interval. I have interpreted his protest, as recorded by Fountainhall, in that sense.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 490.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 503. Maitland and his wife were given until the same date to concur in Lauderdale's conveyance of the property. If they failed to do so, the Court ordered 'the decret to be extracted.' On 6th February 1683 the Court had found 'Maitland's subscribing the disposition, and his Lady's renouncing, sufficient to secure Claveris against his life-rent' (*ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 491). Maitland, in January 1684, was found to have been 'trafficking' with Argyll. See Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 73.

⁴ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 523.

Scrymgeour property, the subjects conveyed to Claverhouse were erected into the barony of New Dundee.¹ His later title was already suggested. The town from which he took it hastened to make formal protest against the powers of its new Constable, who a quarter of a century before had been admitted a burgess and guild-brother.²

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (MS.), lxi. 155. The ward and relief were taxed at £20, and the marriage at £40. Though the conveyance of Dudhope to Claverhouse was contingent upon his payment of the purchase price, there is among the *Duntrune MSS.* a receipt, dated 2nd August 1687, by John Maitland, factor to the Earl of Lauderdale, acknowledging 4000 merks paid to him by Major-General Graham of Claverhouse.

² On 14th May 1684 the Council of Dundee lodged a protest against the powers of the Constableness vested in Claverhouse, 'particularlie of cognoscering upon & decyding ryots, bloods, batteries, pettie thefts, and other lesser crymes comitted within y^e bounds & jurisdictione of y^e Ed towne' (*Charters, Writs, and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee*, p. 103). The editor remarks (p. 105) that this protest is but one of a series against the pretensions of the Constables.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE

'THE Advocate's brother told one of the pleasantest stories imaginable this day,' Moray writes to Queensberry on 5th September 1683,¹ 'that the Chanslour had sent to the Earl Dundonald to tell him that the match he intended with Claverhous was no ways able to secure him, but if he uold lett Gordonston² hav his grandchild, he uold secure him, at which the mother and daughter uer so allarmed, they immediately run out of the toun.' Claverhouse's earlier romance, if romance it was, was nearly two years in its grave. At the outset of it, at least, interest rather than affection had guided him, though in the climax of the wooing he had vowed his readiness to take Helen Graham 'in her smock.' No taint of interest rests upon his second courtship. There is, rather, a touch of sporting recklessness in it. For on the Dundonalds there pressed a double cloud of suspicion. The Earl, the first of his title, had served the Stewarts loyally. An earldom in 1669 had been his reward. But his two sons compromised him woefully. His heir, William, Lord Cochrane, had married a daughter of the sixth Earl of Cassillis, a resolute Covenanter during the 'Troubles' and to his death. Lady Cochrane found or formed a home

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 131.

² Sir Ludovick Gordon of Gordonstown. As he was sixty years old and had already been twice married, Jean Cochrane's preference for Claverhouse is intelligible. See *The House of Gordon*, ed. J. Malcolm Bulloch, New Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 525.

entirely to her mind. Her husband died in 1679, the year of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. He passed from the world amid the prayers of his chaplain for the success of the rebels, so it was said. Yet his daughter Jean married Claverhouse! The younger son of Dundonald, Sir John Cochrane of Ochilltree, had brought the family into deeper discredit. Implicated in the Rye House Plot, he had fled to Holland. Claverhouse was officially sifting the evidence against him on the eve of marriage to his niece! The father of two such sons could hardly escape suspicion. The very year that brought Claverhouse incongruously into his family, brought also a formal indictment of Dundonald for his elder son's Whiggism.¹ For the hawk to mate with its quarry is not more bewildering than that Claverhouse should take a wife from the Whig-tainted Cochranes of Paisley. The consequences he knew, and, being Claverhouse, dared.

The first hint of it breaks feverishly into his correspondence just after Dudhope had come to him. 'I must say,' he writes to Queensberry on 19th May 1684,² 'that the neu alleya[nce] that I am lyk to mak is not unusfull to me in the shyr of Air and Ranfrou. They³ have the guyding of those shyrs and they doe strenthen my hands in the Kings service.' 'I have wryten to his Royal Highness anent that match,' he continues, 'hearing that Deuk Hamilton had scrupulled to allaya with that family without the King and Deuks lieve.⁴ I feared that this might have been advysed by som persons⁵ to load me

¹ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xi. pp. 162, 175.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 287. The letter is dated from Edinburgh.

³ i.e. the Cochranes.

⁴ Hamilton writes to Queensberry on 3rd November 1684: 'My daughter Susann is to be maried on my Lord Cochran the 13 instant, at which wee shall drinke your health' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 281). The Lord Cochrane referred to was John, second Earl of Dundonald, brother of the Hon. Jean Cochrane, Claverhouse's wife.

⁵ Claverhouse alludes, no doubt, to Aberdeen.

that had not been so circumspect.' What follows is vivid in its auto-portraiture, suggestive, too, in its picture of the high-mettled girl who had her way in spite of her family's outcry of horror. 'For my owen pairt,' Claverhouse continues, 'I look on myself as a cleanger. I may cur people guilty of that plaigue of presbitry be conversing with them, but can not be infected, and I see very litle of that amongst those persons but may be easily rubed of. And for the yong ladie herself, I shall answer for her. Had she been right principled¹ she would never, in despyt of her mother and relations, made choyse of a persicutor, as they call me. So who ever thinks to misrepresent me on that head will fynd them selfs mistaken; for both in the King and churches interest, dryve as fast as they think fit, they will never see me behynd.' Another letter to Queensberry on the same date² marks Claverhouse's anxiety regarding Dundonald, who was threatened on his account. 'I sawe nothing singular in my lord Dundonalds caice,' he declared, 'saive that he has but on rebel on his land for ten that the rest of the lords and lairds of the south and west have on theirs; and that he is willing to depon he kneu not of their being such. The Deuk [of York] is juster then to charge my Lord Dindonald with Sir Johns³ crymes. He is a mad man and lait him parish. They deserve to be damned would owen him. The Deuk knous what it is to have sons and nepheus that follou not advice. I have taken peins to knou the state of the contreys⁴ guilt as to recett, and if I make it not appear that my Lord

¹ i.e. if she had been as Whiggish as her family.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 288. This letter, dated from Edinburgh, 19th May 1684, is not signed. As certain phrases are common to both, this may have been the draft of the one already quoted. But as both reached Queensberry, it is probable that Claverhouse despatched them to him at different addresses.

³ Sir John Cochrane.

⁴ Renfrew.

Dindonald is on of the clearest of all that contrey, and can hardly be reached in lawe, I am content to pay his fyne. I never pleaded for any,¹ nor shall I here after: but I must say I think it hard that no regaird is had to a man in so favorable circumstances—I mean considering others, upon my acount, and that nobody offered to medle with him till they heared I was lyk to be concerned in him. They have flaiged² him; so that he has not given me so much as he would have given to any body that could have don him no service.³ And since faveur might have been shouen him without prejudging the Kings service, considering his aidge and the imployments he has had, it was not friendly to fall upon him to my prejudice; but mor shall goe with him, or manifest partiality shall apear.' 'After all,' he continued, 'I am very indifferent whether my Lord Dindonald be fyned or not; it will concern my Lord Cochran, not me. I will gate no mor nor I have got, unless it should be signified from above that he has got faveur on my acount, which I would not dispair of if I wer at London, and my friends, if they lyked, might doe, which would put D[uke] H[amilton] made; for he thinks to doe all for them or not maidle with them. I will make ane other use of those people then is expected. They offer me all asistance in those shyres.' He concluded: 'What ever com of this, lait not my enimys misrepresent me; they may abuse the Deuk for a time, and hardly; but or long I will in dispyt of them lait the world see that it is not in the pouer of love, nor any other folly, to alter my

¹ He means that he never used his influence to secure mitigation of a sentence.

² i.e. frightened.

³ Claverhouse means that Dundonald had been less generous in the marriage settlements than he otherwise would have been. There can be little doubt that Claverhouse's influence alone can have recommended the match to Dundonald's family.

loyalty.'¹ It is his life in epitome. He wrote again ten days later—Queensberry was at Court: Aberdeen's fall imminent—'I flatter myself with the hopes that you will doe me such good offices with his R.H. as you have often don heretofor to so good purpos; so that I will not need to fear any misrepresentations can be made against me.'²

On 9th June 1684 a family gathering at Paisley witnessed the contract matrimonial between Claverhouse and the Honourable Jean Cochrane. Bride and bridegroom appended their signature—the bridegroom with a deliberation apparent in the carefully formed letters; the bride with a clearness and decision which matched his own. Her grandfather and grandmother added theirs—the old Earl's very tottering and shaky. So also did her cousin, Lord Ross.³ Her brother, young Lord Cochrane, destined for Hamilton's 'Susann,' gave his consent. Her mother's signature is significantly absent. The bridegroom had the support of a single friend, Colin Mackenzie, so often mentioned in his letters to Queensberry.⁴ Pruned of legal iteration the contract settled in jointure upon the new Lady of Claverhouse an annuity of five thousand merks Scots,⁵ secured upon an elaborate and imposing enumeration of Claverhouse's properties, and the liferent of Glenogilvie. She, on her part, brought her husband a dowry

¹ Claverhouse adds in a postscript: 'I spok to Dindonald about giving sumthing and gating his grand chylds forfitur and sons echeat; but he will not maidle with them, and will stand his own tryall.'

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 289. The letter is dated from Edinburgh, 29th May 1684.

³ Grizel, the only daughter of the first Earl of Dundonald, married George, Lord Ross, Claverhouse's colleague at Glasgow in 1679. She had died in 1665. Lord Ross died in 1682. His son and successor, who signs the contract above, was William, Lord Ross, who had a troop in Claverhouse's regiment.

⁴ See the *facsimile* of the signatures in Napier, vol. ii. p. 392. In the contract Colin Mackenzie is described as 'advocatt, one of the Commissars of Edinburgh.'

⁵ Napier values this at £276, 15s. 6d. sterling.



JEAN VISCOUNTESS OF DUNDEE.
FROM THE PICTURE AT MEIRVEN CASTLE

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of forty thousand merks *Scots*.¹ Should she survive her husband, 'without children of the said marriadge then one lyfe,' Glenogilvie was assigned for her residence, 'or to live at any place else where she pleases.' The devolution of his estates Claverhouse devised upon his heirs male by this or a subsequent marriage, and in default, to his eldest heir female by Jean Cochrane, 'she alwayes marieng ane gentleman of the name of Grahame, att liest who and ther airs shall be holden and obliet to assume the said name, and shall weer and bear the armes of the family of Claverhouse.' In the event of male issue by a subsequent marriage, his excluded female issue by Jean Cochrane were provided for—£20,000 *Scots* if there were but one daughter; twenty thousand merks each if there were two; twenty thousand merks to the eldest of three, or more, and thirty thousand merks in equal division to the others.²

What manner of woman was she, the last Lady of Claverhouse? A fair, open face, her head poised proudly on a slender neck, looks at one from her portrait. In that strange inquest of her body, one hundred years after her death, her hair was still 'beautiful auburn,' her complexion 'fine.'³

' It seems the Gods design'd her outward form
Their masterpiece and standart uniforme,'

wrote an anonymous epitaphist. Dundee is made to address her in another elegy:

' Your body was refyned the master-piece
Of hyer powers for each attractive grace,
And you wer cloathed with such excellencie,
And therein did the rest of souls outvie,
As if you differed from the specie.'⁴

¹ Napier values this at £2214, 4s. Od. sterling.

² See the contract in Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 88.

³ *The Edinburgh Courant* of 27th July 1795, quoted in Napier, vol. iii. p. 674.

⁴ Both are printed in Maidment, *Analecta Scotica*, first series, pp. 57, 59.

Her character, in lack of other evidence, is best discerned in the fact that she was Claverhouse's wife. One cannot picture him mated to a nursery Miss. Spirit she had: her marriage in her mother's despite proclaims it. Short though her life with him was, prejudiced as was her upbringing, her husband's cause and principles she made her own.¹ 'Let me know what is become of my Ladie Dundie,' writes Alexander Robertson of Struan to his mother from Paris, 9th April 1690. 'If she be in Edinburgh goe see her, and tell her that the K[ing] and Q[ueen] almost adore her.'² Identified with his glory, she shared the calumny which assailed him.³ She survived him less than seven years, and her end, like his, was sudden and tragic.⁴

¹ She raised money for him during his Highland campaign (see his letter of 27th June 1689 in Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 360). According to Creighton (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 179) it was at her summons that her husband made his raid on Dundee on 13th May 1689, she having assured him that the dragoons there (now the Scots Greys) were ready to join him. See also Napier, vol. iii. p. 556.

² Quoted in Napier, vol. iii. p. 673.

³ I have already (see above, p. 3) alluded to the absurd story of the curse which the mother of Claverhouse is said to have pronounced upon his wife's second marriage with William Livingstone, third Viscount Kilsyth. The equally absurd story of her second husband having killed Dundee at Killiecrankie in guilty collusion with the Viscountess is sufficiently exposed by Napier, vol. iii. p. 683.

⁴ She and her child by Kilsyth were accidentally killed in an inn at Utrecht on 16th October 1695. The following letter written from Utrecht on the next day describes the tragedy: 'On Tuesday night, being the 15 of this instant, Kilseith, with my Lady Dundee and familie, arived here in perfect good health, about six of the cloacke, and went to lodge at the Caele of Antwerp till they should be better accommodated. They dined both at the publick table yesterday, where my lady was extraordinary good company. Five or sex more of our country men dynd likewise with them. They went above stiears to the chamber about two a cloacke, for my lady was to receave some visits from some of our country men. I parted with my lady about the quarter of ane hour after two, to goe to my chambre, to lay by the books which I had att my colledges in the forenoon; and before I gott the lenth of my chambre, there came on runing to me with the sad news that the chamber wherin they where had fallen vpon them, and that it was thought that they were all killed; and, after I came there, I found to my sad regraite, it was so. Kilseith

Tuesday, 10th June 1684, was Claverhouse's wedding-day.¹ It bore ominous presage of the whole course of his broken married life. He had ridden down to Paisley from Edinburgh through a peaceful country on the previous Saturday, leaving word at Glasgow as he passed that he would be found at Paisley in case of need.² He little expected a summons to duty. Trouble, however, was brewing. On Sunday the 8th, Dalziel at Glasgow had news of a formidable conventicle at Black Loch, near Slamannan. On the 9th, while Claverhouse was signing

was, by great providence, gotten out, but his legs were a little squised, and all his cloaths torn. Mr Walkenshaw of Barrowfield, who had been paying my lady his respects, was gotten out about three quarters of an hour thereafter. He was sore bruised, but nothing of him broke, he will certainly be well enouth within two or three dayes. But the poor Lady Dundee with her sone, and chamber maid, were killed with the fall. It wes ane houre thereafter before the ladyes body could be gott out, but it could easily be knowne, by seeing her corps, that she had been killed with the fall of the jists. The house itself is nott fallen, only the people to whom the house belonged had bin all that day carreing up their trufs [turfs] to the chamber immediately above thers, and after they had carried up the last sackfull of 3 00 tuns, the weight of that great quantity of turff broke doune the loft aboue them. The thing was so suden that, if the chamber had bein full, there could have bein no more saved. The thing that saved Barrowfield was a table which he stood by; and the thing [that] saved Kilseith was that the weight lighted on his back, and threw him close to the dore, where he was almost killed whene they were breaking up the dore, for he had neither place to go back nor forward. Kilseith is the most affickted man that ever was; and no wonder, after [the deaths] of so fine a lady, child, and good servant, so sudinly, and by such a maner' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xii, pt. viii. p. 49). Another contemporary account of the tragedy is in Napier, vol. iii. p. 736. The bodies of Lady Dundee and her infant son by Kilsyth were embalmed and sent to Scotland for interment. They were buried at Kilsyth on 5th March 1696 (*Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston*, Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 190). The lead coffin in which they were buried in the Kilsyth vault was opened on 15th May 1795, and the bodies were discovered to be in a state of perfect preservation. See Napier, vol. iii. pp. 674 *et seq.*

¹ There is no record of the marriage in the Register of the Abbey Parish, Paisley. The only evidence for the date of the marriage is Claverhouse's complaint, in a letter to the Lord President, 'They might have let Tuesday pass,' meaning that on his wedding-day above others his enemies might have left him in peace.

² See his letter to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, dated from Paisley, 16th June 1684, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 401.

his marriage contract at Paisley, the General had further details from a party he had sent to reconnoitre. The conventicle numbered about one hundred, 'most men, and all of them armed with guns and swords.' That night the fugitives, the troops in hot pursuit of them, crossed the Clyde near Hamilton, and scattering, left their pursuers at a check.¹ The further tracking of them fell to the troops in Renfrew and Ayrshire. Dalziel, gruff and not over-kind towards Claverhouse, spared him a summons on such a day. But Ross, who held a troop in Claverhouse's regiment and was with his colonel at Paisley, received an account of the disquieting event from Glasgow.² Claverhouse had the first news of it on his wedding morning. He took prompt measures. Buchan, with Ross's troop, a half-troop of the Horse Guards, and thirty fusiliers, was ordered up from Dalmellington to Newmilns to await him. Captain Inglis's dragoons also had an instant summons.³

' There's ancient men at weddings been
For sixty years or more ;
But sic a curious wedding-day
They never saw before.'

Amid the bustle of preparation for the service so unkindly thrust upon him, Claverhouse and Jean Cochrane were made man and wife. Before nightfall he was galloping southward to the rendezvous at Newmilns. All night

¹ See Dalziel's letter of 9th June 1684 and enclosures in Napier, vol. ii. p. 395.

² Napier (vol. ii. p. 401) is inclined to cavil at Dalziel for having communicated with Ross without informing Ross's superior officer of the circumstances. It is charitable to conclude that Dalziel's motives were as I have stated them.

³ See Claverhouse's letter to the Archbishop, dated from Paisley, 16th June 1684, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 401. The letter is one of three which Napier extracted from the Queensberry manuscripts, but which are not calendared, so far, in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts' Commission. The other two letters are, one to Sir David Falconer, the Lord President, dated from Paisley, 13th June 1684, the other to Dalziel, dated from Kilbride, 15th June 1684.

and next day (11th June) the hills and moors between Clydesdale and Ayr were searched and drawn blank. The wearisome hunt ended at Strathaven. Concluding that the conventicle had passed some other way, or had scattered, Claverhouse ordered Buchan to conduct the troops back to their quarters in the south, keeping a close eye upon the hills and moors on the Clydesdale side as he marched.¹ On the 12th Claverhouse returned to Paisley.²

Provoking ill-fortune had not yet spent itself. Buchan, on 12th June, fulfilling his orders, came upon the elusive quarry 'in the heart of the hills on the Clydesdale side,' heading for Galloway. Shots were fired, and one of the soldiers was wounded. But before Buchan could bring up his horse the Whigs had drawn off. He hurried on to close Galloway to their entrance, and sent a despatch to Claverhouse at Paisley.³ It reached him on the morning of Friday the 13th. By noon he was again in the saddle and galloping southward.⁴ Through Kilmarnock and Mauchline he hurried to join Buchan at Cumnock. He was there ere nightfall, and had the news that the fugitives, much reduced in number, had passed near Airdsmoss, 'barefooted many of them, and taking horses in some places to help them forward.' On the morrow (14th June) he searched every nook and cranny for a trace of them. Four parallel columns swept every square mile of likely cover. 'We were at the head of Douglas,' writes Claverhouse. 'We were round and over Cairntable. We were at Greenock-head, Cummer-head, and through all the moors, mosses, hills, glens, woods; and spread in small parties, and ranged as if we had been at hunting,

¹ See his letter of 16th June 1684, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 401.

² He writes from Paisley on 13th June. See his letter in Napier, vol. ii. p. 397.

³ Napier, vol. ii. p. 402.

⁴ Claverhouse to Dalziel, 15th June 1684, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 400.

and down to Blackwood, but could learn nothing of those rogues.'¹ He ended the beat at Kilbride, and sent Dalziel an account of his ill-success. Captain Strachan had marched from Dalmellington northward, between Mauchline and Newmilns, he reported, scouring all the suspected places as he came along. Bruce of Earlshall had patrolled by Sanquhar, Muirkirk, and on to Strathaven. Buchan had marched round Cairn Table, and Claverhouse himself, with Lord Ross, had come 'through the hills more easterly, leaving Douglas and Lesmahago a mile or two on our right.' 'We traced them,' he concluded, 'from the Boghead near Airdmoss to the Haxhill, within two miles of Cumnock town, and from that to Gap, towards Cairntable, but could never hear more of them. They are separated, as most believe, and gone towards the hills of Moffat. I am sure there is not one man of them within these bounds.'² Next day he returned to Paisley and the interrupted honeymoon.

A month of inactivity followed the bustle and disturbance of his wedding-week. Claverhouse had leisure to take his wife to her new home, Dudhope, whence he writes for the first time in August. July 1684, however, brought a recurrence of June's disturbance, and called Claverhouse again to service. Early in the month a party of Claverhouse's troop at Dumfries was despatched to Edinburgh with sixteen prisoners, whose apprehension was probably connected with the recent hunt for the Black Loch conventicle. As the party threaded the narrow Pass of Enterkin, between Thornhill and Sanquhar, heedless of the Inchbelly incident, it encountered the familiar ambushade. One of the troops was killed; the majority of the prisoners escaped; two only of them were brought

¹ Claverhouse to the Archbishop, 16th June 1684, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 402.

² Claverhouse to Dalziel, 15th June 1684, in Napier, vol. ii. p. 400.

in to Edinburgh.¹ On 10th July 1684 Queensberry had returned to Edinburgh.² His ascendancy in the Scottish Council was at length assured, and Claverhouse, whose decisive break with him was still to come, no longer found himself hampered by Aberdeen and Dalziel's niggard support. On 14th July he was required to make inquiry into the ambuscade, and the possible connivance of the locality.³ On the following day (15th July) he was appointed a member of the Committee of Council on Public Affairs. Two other officers of his regiment—Drumlanrig and Balcarres—were also appointed upon it. The Committee was specially charged to direct 'the execution of the laws against fanatical and disorderly persons.'⁴

The influence of Claverhouse's committee may perhaps be detected in a proclamation which the Council made public on 22nd July. It appealed to the recent Black Loch and Enterkin incidents to justify a rigorous prosecution of the law against those whom the circuit Court of Justiciary twelve months before had failed to bring to compliance with it.⁵ Upon 1st August 1684 the joint command of Claverhouse and Buchan in Ayrshire and Clydesdale was continued, with power to each of them to call for and examine on oath all persons able to give information regarding frequenters of conventicles and

¹ Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 96. A spirited but unreliable account of the incident is in Defoe, *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 189. Wodrow (vol. iv. p. 173) gives the number of the prisoners as nine, and of the escort as twenty-eight, of whom one was killed and several were wounded. Only one of their prisoners, he states, was ultimately brought to Edinburgh.

² Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 93. Aberdeen was replaced by Perth in the Chancellorship under a new commission which reached Edinburgh on 15th July 1684 (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 29).

³ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 31. A proclamation of those who had been declared fugitive by the 1683 Circuit is printed by Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 13. It numbers upwards of eighteen hundred names. It is dated 5th May 1684.

their resettlers, and to appoint substitutes for the purpose.¹

Once more Claverhouse scoured the familiar ground. On 5th August 1684 he wrote to Queensberry from Strathaven.² He had already been through the Drumclog moorlands,³ and 'from this,' he continued, 'I am going throu Ranfrou and through the laigh pairts of the shyr of Air up to Drumelington . . . I have writen to the garisons of Galloway to drawe out and march al along on the right, and I with the troupes I have here will march on their left on this seid the hilles.' He already had searched the moors for fugitives, 'a purpose to chease them from this to the hilles, and make them think themselves secur there, but they have such intelligence that there is no surprising them. When we cam here, they told they heared of my coming; and last night I was asking if there wer any troupes at Neumilles as I came from Machline, and tho it was undernight and no body but my owen servants, they told me my lord Ross troupe was there and that I was expected. I fear we doe nothing, for so soon as I com I fynd they acquaint all the contrey expecting a search.' He promised to report his proceedings to Queensberry at Edinburgh a week later.⁴ On 25th August 1684 he wrote from Dudhope:⁵ 'Tho I stay a feu days here, I hop no body will reproach me of eating the bread of ydleness, seing no body has and will goe mor cheerfully about any thing that concerns the Kings or your Lordships service.' A humane representation in behalf of prisoners for petty theft in the Tolbooth of

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 33.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 289.

³ His route to Strathaven he gives as *vid* Douglas, Ochilltree, Mauchline, and Newmilns.

⁴ Wodrow (vol. iv. pp. 172, 174, 175) gives brief notes upon Claverhouse's proceedings at this time.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 290.

Dundee, whom the law condemned to death, is the earliest record of his residence at Dudhope as Constable of Dundee.¹ Nor as an indication of character does it stand alone in disproof of the reality of the travestied Claverhouse whom Covenanting tradition has set up in its Chamber of Horrors.

Claverhouse was not suffered long to eat the bread of idleness. The Black Loch conventicle had impressed the Government with the sense of danger not yet surmounted. It was resolved to repeat the itinerant Court of Justiciary of 1683. On 6th September 1684 Claverhouse and Queensberry's son, Drumlanrig, were appointed to act for the shires of Dumfries, Wigton, and the stewartries of Annandale and Kirkcudbright. They were empowered 'to hold courts, and in these courts to call and convene all persons guilty of conventicles, withdrawing from public ordinances, disorderly baptisms and marriages, and such like disorders and irregularities.' Queensberry was also joined with them.² Their escort was furnished by Claverhouse and Drumlanrig's troops and Captain Strachan's dragoons.³ The Court opened at Dumfries⁴ on 2nd October 1684. Thence it passed to Kirkcudbright and Wigton. Wodrow accuses it of 'greater irregularities and severities' than the Courts held elsewhere at the same time.⁵ The accusa-

¹ On 10th September 1684 the Council, on his representation, empowered him then and for the future to substitute whipping or banishment for the death penalty which the law allowed for petty theft and larceny. See the Minute of Council quoted in Napier, vol. ii. p. 410.

² Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 113.

³ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 557.

⁴ The author of the *Memoirs of 1714* (p. 11) makes the statement that at Dumfries 'some mistakes happened between Queensberry and Clavers. He adds that Claverhouse left the Court, rode post-haste to Edinburgh, and on the next day started for London, where he was at the time of Charles the Second's death in February 1685. The credibility of the story may be gauged by the fact that Claverhouse writes quite amicably to Queensberry on 30th October, after the circuit was ended; and that he was not in England when Charles died.

⁵ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 119.

tion rests upon his statement alone, and the special instances of severity which he enumerates were the customary sentences for the offences with which the Court was commissioned to deal.¹

His judicial labours ended, Claverhouse fared homeward. A letter to Queensberry from Burntisland on 30th October 1684² shows him on his way to Dudhope after a brief visit to Edinburgh, suppers and dinners with 'all the good compaignie in toun.' His letter is particularly interesting. He had heard it said, he told Queensberry, that their circuit in Galloway had been much less severe than that of Clydesdale in the terms of 'the Bond of Peace' which they had exacted. The Government had had for some time in its armoury an ingenious weapon by which to curb its enemies. 'When any Scottish subject had reason to fear violence at the hand of another, he could procure what were known as "letters of law-burrows," by which the party complained of became bound to keep the peace. By a novel and ingenious application of this system the Government demanded security by law-burrows from those of the King's servants who still refused to take 'he bond.'³ But to hold the landlord as the compulsory surety for his tenant and his tenant's family's good behaviour was obviously unfair. Claverhouse, at least, did not shrink from condemning it; 'for it is unjust,' he told Queensberry, 'to desyr of others what we would not doe our selfs. For I declair I think it a thing not to be desyred, that I should be forfeited and hanged

¹ The cases of William Macmillan, William Macgeorge, Charles Maxwell, and William Martin, will be found in his vol. iv. pp. 122, 124, 125. According to the author of *History vindicated in the Case of the Wigton Martyrs* (second edit., p. 24), the records of the Court's proceedings at Dumfries and Kirkcudbright are in the Register House, and those of Wigton are in the possession of Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. xv.*, pt. viii. p. 290. The letter is dated from 'Bruntelin.'

³ Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 406.

if my tenants wife, tuenty mille from me, in the midst of hilles and woods, give mate or shelter a fugitive. The Register I could not see, but I have written from this my mind to him.' He wrote sound sense, but it is questionable whether he was wise to do so. Queensberry's friendship was near the end of its tether. And for all his brave assertion of continued loyalty, Claverhouse's marriage with a Whig Cochrane was a fact capable of use against him, and, in the result, formed the ostensible cause of his temporary disgrace.

At the moment when James's accession was imminent, promising Claverhouse the ear and favour of his new sovereign, there were sinister influences at work which doomed him to disgrace on the very threshold of his Eldorado. Queensberry had his own wares to cry, and Claverhouse, as will be seen, jeopardised the hawking of them. His marriage also laid him under suspicion; undeserved, it is true; but the fact of it was sufficient. Enemies in plenty he had, for he was not a man who trode delicately when once he had mapped his route. Lauderdale was at Edinburgh making court to Perth, the new Chancellor. Sir John Dalrymple, as Claverhouse reported to Queensberry,¹ was 'as assiduous there as he used to be.' As to Perth: 'I hear he is mad against me, tho I have mor reason to be so against him.' Perth's motives for malignity towards Claverhouse are not clear. In character and honest integrity the two men were as far apart as the Poles. Perth was ready to apostatise at a nod from his master. In fact he did so. But Claverhouse was not a man to juggle with his conscience. Of what was going on around him he was perfectly aware. 'Sir George Locart is com home,' he tells Queensberry in the same letter, 'who, it is thoght, has been a considerable

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 291. The letter is dated from Edinburgh, 4th November 1684.

agent, and has got a neu light, for, as I hear, he stood to Glory to the Father¹ with the Ch[ancellor] to-day.' As for himself, he had 'fallen fool' the previous day with one of his colleagues in Council 'about the fanatiks bak-slyding and the causes of it. I told that we wer interrupted by his telling that those who had taken the test could not be fyned, and that there wer abundance had taken it, as I was informed, and yet would not lieve orderly.' It was to be immediately demonstrated that a spirit was abroad among the persecuted remnant which neither Test nor fines were adequate to curb.

The closing months of Charles the Second's reign opened a chapter whose continuation disfigures that of his successor. Since the quashing of the rebellion in 1679 the Government's policy had been severe but not wantonly cruel. No lives had been taken—excepting William Bogue's—for disobedience to the law. The two men who had been executed at Glasgow in 1683 were guilty of or accessory to an assault upon the King's forces, and were condemned on that count. The Enterkin episode was in the same category. Granted to the full the provocative nature of the Government's policy, the initiative in blood-letting lay, not with the Government, but with its opponents. The fact is not adduced in condonation of a policy of reprisals. Viewed dispassionately, the conduct of the Government and those it oppressed is upon a similar plane of condemnation. The mote in the one and the beam in the other level the scales to equilibrium. One wades in the record of the period, in fact, through the fag-end of mediævalism. To condemn the one side for failure to rise superior to the methods of its opponents indicates a faulty perspective.

The Inchbelly and Enterkin incidents had been casual encounters. But now, upon the conclusion of the Justiciary

¹ i.e. the Doxology.

circuit of 1684, the Cameronian remnant issued what was tantamount to a declaration of war. Renwick's 'Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication' was given to the world on 28th October 1684. In flagrant antagonism to the facts, Wodrow ascribes the inspiration of it to 'the barbarous murder of some honest country people in the fields,' and, with a nearer approximation to truth, to 'the extraordinary severities exercised September and October last.'¹ On 8th November it was widely published and affixed to market crosses and church doors in the western shires. It not only threatened resort to armed defence, but it explicitly announced the withdrawal of its adherents from their obedience to the reigning sovereign.² It was a declaration of flat rebellion. So the authorities understood it, and so they dealt with it. Remedy rather than retaliation was the wiser and juster method; but neither side held the monopoly of intemperance. On 22nd November 1684 the authorities gave their reply. A new form of oath was to be devised, binding the subscriber to a solemn attestation of his abhorrence of Renwick's Declaration 'in so far as it declares a war against his sacred Majesty and asserts that it is lawful to kill such as serve his Majesty in Church, State, Army or country.' A further clause bound the subscriber not to take up arms against the King or any commissioned by him. The penalty of refusal was, logically and inevitably, death.³

Claverhouse was not present in Council when the Council's policy was declared. He signed an order for its enforcement on the following day (23rd November 1684).⁴ Up to this point no man's life, save of those he

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 147. The text of the Declaration is in *ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 148.

² Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 141.

³ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 154. The Abjuration Oath was not drafted till 25th November 1684 (*ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 157).

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 156.

had met in fair fight, lay at his door. He had fined and imprisoned, as his orders empowered him. He had now more summary powers, and he obeyed them, not with the lust of indiscriminate slaughter, but sparingly, with the judgment of a master of punitive tactics, with an eye to example rather than to the rearing of a holocaust. The first of his alleged 'atrocities' falls within the early days of the more savage policy which Renwick's Declaration invited. There is still to be seen in the churchyard of Crossmichael, a Kirkcudbrightshire village, a sculptured slab to the memory of William Graham of that place. In conventional phrase, the epitaph records his death for 'adherence to Scotland's Reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League.' Martyrdom came to him, so the stone declares, while 'makeing his escape from his mother's house,' when he was 'pursued and taken and instantly shot dead by a party of Claverhouse's troop.' The event took place, the epitaph states inaccurately, in 1682.¹ The earliest evidence upon the case is that of Alexander Shields, in 1690. It goes further than the epitaph in that it asserts that Claverhouse himself was present at William Graham's execution.² Seventeen years later the story was further embellished. 'The young Man,' writes Defoe,³ without a particle of authority, 'being forced to quit the House, and run to save his Life, Claverhouse rid after him and overtook him; and tho' the young Man offer'd to surrender, and begg'd him to save his Life, he shot him dead with his Pistol.' So legend grows and

¹ Thomson, *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, p. 365.

² *A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances, past and present, of the Presbyterians in Scotland*, p. 34. The statement runs: 'John Graham of Claver house, Viscount of Dundee, in the Year 1682 with a party of his Troup, pursued William Graham in the parish of [blank] in Galloway, making his escape from his Mother's house, and overtaking him, instantly shot him dead.' Shields's statement appears *verbatim* in *A Cloud of Witnesses*, p. 368.

³ *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 194.

establishes itself unblushingly as fact. The story in its final and correct form is told by Wodrow.¹ William Graham,² it appears, was a tailor at Crossmichael. Returning from work to his home, he was overtaken on the highway by Claverhouse and a party of his troops. They stopped him, searched him, and finding a Bible in his pocket, took him with them for further examination to Kirkcudbright, thence to Wigton, and thence to Dumfries. Refusing to answer the questions put to him, he was placed in irons, transferred to Edinburgh, and passed out of Claverhouse's jurisdiction. At Edinburgh he was questioned upon 'the declaration of the society'—that is, Renwick's Declaration—and 'refusing to answer,' Wodrow concludes, 'was condemned and died most comfortably.' The story of a lad pistolled on the highway in 1682 falls to the ground a palpable falsehood. To state the facts—Claverhouse, during the renewed Whig activity in 1684, arrested and sent to Edinburgh a man whose demeanour roused his suspicion. His suspicion was not groundless. Offered the Oath of Abjuration and liberty, the prisoner refused it,³ and died bravely for conduct which proclaimed him a rebel at heart if not in fact.⁴

¹ Vol. iv. p. 167.

² Wodrow gives his Christian name as James, but as he specifically calls him 'tailor in the parish of Corsmichael,' and includes the detail of his being on his way 'to his mother's house,' there is no room to doubt his identity with the William Graham whose grave is in Crossmichael churchyard.

³ I have no hesitation in adding this detail to Wodrow's account. On 2nd December 1684 the Council sanctioned the proffer of the Abjuration Oath to those who were already in prison on minor counts, with liberty as the reward of their acquiescence in it. See Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 157.

⁴ The author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 206) misses Wodrow's evidence, which proves that William Graham was executed subsequent to the imposition of the Abjuration Oath in November 1684. Accepting the epitaph's date, 1682, however, as that of Graham's death, the author easily demonstrates its impossibility in the light of the fact that no hint of so high-handed a proceeding appears among the charges which Sir John Dalrymple, in 1683, brought against Claverhouse's administration of Galloway.

The most probable date for William Graham's arrest is about 17th or

Meanwhile Renwick's Declaration had been translated into deeds. On 20th November 1684, a few days before the drafting of the Abjuration Oath, a cold-blooded murder was perpetrated at Blackburn, a village of Linlithgowshire. The victims were two of the Lifeguard, Thomas Kennoway and Duncan Stewart by name. The former had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Cameronians by the energy he had shown against them. On 17th November he returned to Livingston from a mission which boded ill for the local 'society people.'¹ His comrade, Duncan Stewart, joined him there, and together they proceeded to an inn² at Swineabbey, westward of the neighbouring village of Blackburn, where Kennoway had his quarters. There they continued 'drinking and laying their projects,' says Wodrow, until the 20th, 'when they were cut off,' shot dead as they came out unsuspecting from the house.³ The authorship

18th December 1684 (see below, p. 176). Claverhouse was then in the neighbourhood of Crossmichael, and Graham's arrest would connect naturally with Claverhouse's search for the large body of Whigs who had recently raided Kirkcudbright.

¹ Wodrow (vol. iv. p. 152) describes him as having been active against the Whigs since 1686. According to Alexander Reid, Kennoway was a native of Calder and 'haunted at the Swine-abbey.' He had kept a careful eye upon the proceedings of the disaffected in the district, and had just returned from a journey to the north in search of James Nimmo, a Bathgate man, who had fled from him (*Life of Alexander Reid, written by Himself*, p. 46). If that was his character, it is sufficient to explain why the local 'society people' had marked him out for vengeance. Wodrow states, however, that he had just returned from Edinburgh, with licence to apprehend a large number of persons against whom (Wodrow supposes) he had given information. He had been a marked man for some time. One Archibald Stewart gave testimony at Edinburgh, on 15th November 1680, that the Whigs 'had a design to kill one Thomas Kennoway in the Guard . . . because he had taken several of their Party' (*A true and impartial Account of the Examinations and Confessions of several execrable Conspirators against the King and his Government in Scotland*. Published by authority. Lond. 1681).

² So soon as news of the murder reached Edinburgh the Council 'called for Carmichell, landlord of the house, and examined him and others' (Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 570).

³ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 153.

of the outrage cannot be a matter for doubt, though its perpetrators were never discovered. 'It shews of what abominable principles they are,' York wrote to Queensberry upon the news of the murder, 'and what all loyal men are to expect from them: for now they are not in a condition of doing the government any harme, they will vent their malise upon privat persons; so that all you, that have so great a share of the affairs there, aught more particularly to have a care of yourselvs.'¹

The Blackburn outrage did not stand alone. Its successor brought Claverhouse into the field. The Reverend Peter Pierson, minister of Carsphairn, in Kirkcudbrightshire, had rendered himself as obnoxious to his neighbours as Kennoway in his district. He lived alone in his manse, was suspected of being 'a favourer of poperie,' and of keeping firearms in his house. He was a man of some spirit. He had been heard to say that 'he feared never a Whig of them, nor any thing else bot rats and mice.' Like Kennoway, he was believed to be an informer,² and he met the same sudden end. On 11th³ December 1684 four armed men crept through the darkness towards the manse. Their names were James Macmichael, Robert Mitchell (nephew of James Mitchell, who had attempted Archbishop Sharp's murder), William Herron, and Roger Pedzen or Peden. Mitchell went on ahead, rapped and waited. After an interval the minister opened the door 'a little.' Macmichael, in ambush, fired his pistol, 'least

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 211. The widows of the murdered men were very tardily compensated. On 30th March 1688 a warrant was issued for payment of £15 sterling yearly to each of them (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xii. fol. 651). A recommendation to that effect had been made on 9th December 1684 (*Wodrow*, vol. iv. p. 153).

² Fountainhall (*Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 581) describes him as 'a great delater of them [the Whigs], and jealous in rebuking them in his sermons.'

³ See Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 581.

Mr. Pearstone should have fyled first,' and his victim fell dead.¹

Five days after the Carsphairn murder an event of even more menacing import took place at Kirkcudbright. On Tuesday, 16th December 1684, a large body, numbering over one hundred, entered the town, released the prisoners confined there, seized all the arms they could find, and made off with impunity.² Only two years before Claverhouse had boasted of his effectual pacification of the district. He hastened to confront the altered conditions. Scouring the country-side as he rode, he had passed, one conjectures, Carsphairn and Dalry, and had struck the head-waters of the Dee near Crossmichael,³ when on 18th December⁴ he came upon a body of those for whom he was searching at Bridge of Dee, a few miles north of Kirkcudbright. Claverhouse and his troop gave hot pursuit. When it ended, he held three of the Cameronians prisoners, and left five of them dead in the track of their flight.⁵

With more or less absolute detachment from its environment, the Bridge of Dee encounter is detailed by Whig martyrologists as a wanton, purposeless, and unprovoked assault upon blameless, law-abiding, and unsuspecting persons. Even Wodrow, who had evidence of it in his

¹ Letter of information to Wodrow, quoted in Napier, vol. i. p. 89. See Wodrow's account in his vol. iv. p. 197.

Sir Robert Dalziel to Queensberry, dated from Dumfries, 18th December 1684, quoted in Napier, vol. ii. p. 428. The *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 11) add the not unlikely detail that the party 'killed a poor man there who was one of the sentries on the Tolbooth, only for challenging them "Who comes there?"'

² If this conjectural itinerary is correct, the arrest of William Graham (see above, p. 173) probably took place at this time. In that case the motive for his arrest is clear.

⁴ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 177.

⁵ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 585, whence it appears that Claverhouse's account of the event reached the Council at Edinburgh on 20th December 1684. It may be noted that in his *Chronological Notes* (p. 115) Fountainhall gives the date as 21st December 1684.

possession, suppressed the fact that one of those killed at the encounter at Bridge of Dee was the very James Macmichael who a week earlier had pistolled the minister of Carsphairn in cold blood. He suggests ingenuously: 'It may be, the rescue of some prisoners at Kirkcudbright, by some of the wanderers, a little before this, was the pretext for all this cruelty'! Claverhouse was in the district for no other reason than to punish an open and flagrant defiance of the Government, whose significance was intensified by the menacing tone of Renwick's Declaration and the cold-blooded murders that had followed it. Having regard to the character of James Macmichael, it is idle to suggest that his associates in the encounter on the 18th were innocent of active participation in the recent raid on Kirkcudbright. Claverhouse, with his prisoners, was already at or on his way to Kirkcudbright to judge them by his justiciary power, when he learned the identity of James Macmichael with the Carsphairn murderer. By his orders the murderer's body, which meanwhile had been carried to Dalry by sympathisers, was hung upon a tree. Wodrow asserts that it was disinterred from its hasty grave for the purpose. In the circumstances the fact is not improbable.¹ Two of the prisoners

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 177; Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 585.

Of the five men whom Fountainhall mentions as killed at Bridge of Dee, four only can be identified. A joint monument to Robert Stewart, described as of Ardoch, and John Grierson is in the churchyard of Dalry, whither the bodies were removed for burial. The inscription records the story, probably apocryphal, that Claverhouse, 'No sooner had he done this horrid thing, But's forced to cry, Stewart's soul in Heaven doth sing.' It asserts also as a fact, upon which even Wodrow admits that testimony is not unanimous—that their bodies were exhumed by Claverhouse's orders. The exhumation of Macmichael, the Carsphairn murderer, may be admitted, and is probably the foundation for a similar charge in regard to the others (see Thomson, *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, p. 380). On Auchencloy moor a joint monument records the names of Robert Ferguson, James Macmichael or Macmichan, Robert Stewart, and John Grierson. A few yards distant from it a monument stands to the memory of Robert Ferguson, 'who was surprized and instantly shot to death on this place

taken at Bridge of Dee were tried and executed at Kirkcudbright.¹

by Graham of Claverhouse' (*ibid.* p. 405). Wodrow's list corresponds with that of the Auchencloy epitaph—it is probably more correct to say that the latter follows Wodrow. Alexander Shields (*Short Memorial*, p. 34) gives the names as Robert Stewart, John Grier, Robert Ferguson, 'and another.' 'Their Corps being buried,' he adds, 'were at his [Claverhouse's] command raised again.' He states also that Claverhouse's arrival in Galloway was 'in answer to the Viscount of Kenmures Letter.' Defoe (*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 250) embellishes the story with characteristic inventiveness. The four men—he substitutes an Archibald Stewart for Macmichael—were trapped in a house and were praying when Claverhouse came upon them, he asserts. He adds that Claverhouse 'caus'd them to be drag'd just to the Door, and shot them Dead as they came out, without any Enquiry whether they were the Persons that he came to apprehend.'

¹ Their names were Robert Smith, of Glencairn, and Robert Hunter. According to Wodrow (vol. iv. p. 177), Claverhouse 'called an assize, and made a form of judging them, and caused execute them there.' Their epitaph (see *A Cloud of Witnesses*, p. 388) states that Bruce of Earlsall and Captain Douglas formed, with Claverhouse, the Court that tried them. It runs:—

'This monument shall show posterity,
Two headless martyrs under it do ly,
By bloody Graham were taken and surpriz'd,
Brought to this town, and afterwards were siz'd;
By unjust law were sentenced to die,
Then first they hang'd, then headed cruelly.
Captain Douglas, Bruce, Graham of Claverhouse,
Were these that caused them to be handled thus:
And when they were unto the gibbet come,
To stop their speech, they did beat up the drum,
And all because they would not comply
With Indulgence, and bloody Prelacy.
In face of cruel Bruce, Douglas, and Graham,
They did maintain, That Christ was Lord supreme;
And boldly owned both the covenants,
At Kirkcudbright thus ended these two saints.'

Both Bruce of Earlsall and Captain Lord William Douglas were officers of Claverhouse's regiment (see Appendix I.). Claverhouse, it would appear, tried the men by virtue of his office as Bailie of the Regality of Tongland, to which he had been commissioned on 19th January 1682 (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vi. fol. 594). The fact that these two men were made prisoners and stood their trial is in itself disproof of Defoe's story of the summary shooting of the Bridge of Dee party. It is a fair inference that these two men surrendered or were made prisoners, in the pursuit, and that those who were shot maintained a more uncompromising demeanour. James Macmichael, at least, had nothing to hope from surrender.

After five years' interlude Scotland was again in the throes of civil war. That affairs had come to such a pass is the truest test of the unwisdom of Charles the Second and his advisers. But facing the position as they viewed it, war presented itself as a measure of defence, at least of retaliation. The too frequent attempt to represent it as a wanton, unprovoked aggression upon a peaceable albeit outraged people is to distort the facts. Renwick's Declaration, rebellious as it was in tone, might have received scant notice but for the acts that had followed it. Together they indicated a menace to the public safety which no responsible Government could tolerate. It met the crisis by methods which the standard of the period suggested as appropriate, whose ferocity differed no whit in character from that displayed by its opponents. As to Claverhouse, it is the silliest and least discerning of apologies which represents him above the standard of the party to which he belonged, the executant of a policy which his intelligence condemned, and dissociating himself from personal responsibility under cover of his soldier's implicit duty to obey. Such an apology is to present its subject a poltroon. An honest man in such a case could resign his commission. Emphatically Claverhouse was an honest man, and he did not resign. Nor was his acquiescence rooted in mere indifference. The policy of which he was the agent had his entire approval. There was, in fact, no practical alternative to it within the vision of the party to which he belonged, to whom the Monarchy and undeviating loyalty to it were the only foundations which promised political stability.

It was as no mere mercenary that Claverhouse entered upon the struggle between authority and rebellion. For that reason the climax of a quarrel, which for the moment placed him under a cloud, and stifled his authority both in the Council and in the field, must have been par-

ticularly galling to him. The quarrel was with Queensberry, who had lately received the coveted dukedom.¹ The causes of it may be inferred, but are nowhere specifically stated. At the root of it was the old complaint on Queensberry's part of Claverhouse's half-heartedness, as he supposed, in his interests at Court in 1683. His suspicions were carefully fanned by those who had their own interests to serve.² 'I am confident,' York wrote to Queensberry (26th June 1683) 'they do him [Claverhouse] much wrong who report he should say I am displeased with you; since I assure you there is no such thing, and that he is not a man to say things which are not; and this justice I must do him, that, whilst he was here, no man was more your friend then he, and did presse all your concerns with more earnestnesse.'³ James's emphatic statement was sufficient for the moment to remove Queensberry's suspicions. But six months later the relations between the two men were again strained. 'When I come downe to you,' York writes on New Year's Day 1684, 'Claueros shall know I am not satisfyd with his behaviour to you.'⁴ Claverhouse also had a grievance. In March 1683 he was dissatisfied with Queensberry's patronage of vacant military commissions.⁵ It was upon the same subject that York, on the following 26th June, assured Queensberry that Claverhouse had made no formal complaint.⁶ Claverhouse's annoyance undoubtedly arose from the commissions bestowed in his own regiment. Drumlanrig, Queensberry's son, was appointed to the lieutenant-coloneley of it in July 1684. Another son, Lord William

¹ His creation is dated 3rd November 1684 (*Complete Peerage*, vol. vi. p. 315).

² See Hamilton's letters to Queensberry, in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. pp. 252, 253, 256.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Douglas, was given a troop in it in the following November. A Cornet William Douglas, in the latter's troop, is further suggestive of family influence lavishly employed.¹ Claverhouse was no doubt equally ambitious for the promotion of his family, and his only brother, who had served with him since 1680, still held no higher rank than that of cornet.

A vacancy was imminent which interested Claverhouse more particularly. Dalziel, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was an old man of over eighty years. His death or retirement seemed imminent.² He died, in fact, in 1685. It needs little perception to picture Claverhouse already bent upon securing the vacant command. But here also Queensberry thwarted him. His brother, Colonel James Douglas, on 12th August 1684, had taken over the command of Linlithgow's regiment of foot.³ He, like Claverhouse, had an eye upon Dalziel's retirement, and could count on his brother's interest. Queensberry, secure in his dukedom, had no longer an interest in maintaining friendly relations with Claverhouse. As Lord High Treasurer he was in a position to harass his brother's rival considerably, by demanding the fines which Claverhouse had levied upon delinquents in Galloway. Claverhouse's recent connection with the Whig Cochranes, also, offered opportunity for insidious misrepresentation. Queensberry availed himself of both courses, and dinned

¹ See Appendix I.

² Queensberry was clearly moving to force Dalziel's retirement. Mel-fort writes to him *circ.* Sept. 1684: 'If Dalzell dye not I am affrayed it will be hard to remove him' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 173).

³ *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock*, Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 75. The regiment in 1685 mustered fourteen companies, with a strength of eleven hundred and twenty, besides officers (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. x.*, pt. i. p. 136). Claverhouse's regiment at that time consisted of six troops of fifty horse each, exclusive of officers. Claverhouse, Drumlanrig, Lord Ross, the Earl of Airlie, the Earl of Balcarres, and Lord William Douglas were the troop captains (*ibid.*).

the ears of York and the Secretaries with accounts of Claverhouse's shortcomings. On 13th December 1684 Moray replied. James had given him 'a hint conserninge Claverous. I find him displeased, as he hes good resone, at his caerige, and as freely as the short time would alow me, I tould the ill consequences of the fiery temper of yong men, uho ought to understand themselves better then to faell so grosly in their diuety to sutch as the Kinge chifly trusts.'¹ Melfort also wrote, having received from his brother the Chancellor 'a full accompt of Claverhous insolence.' He had at once passed it on to York. 'I find the Duke really angry uith him,' he reported, 'and so soon as he comes to Scotland you uill se him used accordingly, especially if he be so foolish after this as to continou his insolence.'²

Claverhouse's demeanour continued the reverse of conciliatory. His rival, Douglas, gave him an opening and he seized it with avidity. Douglas was somewhat of a martinet. His relations with his regiment were not cordial. Among his fads was a desire to have his men 'all of one pitch or height.' Their beards were remorselessly trimmed to a uniform pattern. Neither untidy cravats nor cravat strings were permitted, that the men might appear 'young and brisque.' When their outfit failed to satisfy their colonel's standard of smartness, a new one was purchased at their own expense.³ The regiment murmured, and the malcontents were ejected. On 11th December 1684 a number of them petitioned the Council. They complained that Douglas had forfeited their arrears of pay, and had applied it to shoe and clothe his regiment. Claverhouse was present and backed their complaint. 'It would discouradge any to enter in his Majesties

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 561.

service, if they were used thus,' he protested. Queensberry defended his brother. Recruits were given a free outfit, was his argument, and could be expected to pay for its renewal. 'Thus grew the difference betuেন Claveris and the Treasurer,' Fountainhall remarks.¹ The debate between them grew hot, and Claverhouse lost his temper. Perth hurried to give James an account of the scene. Claverhouse also thought it necessary to offer an explanation. York expressed his concern that his *protégé* should have been 'so little master of himself.' 'I had a letter from Clauros by the last post,' he wrote, 'who endeauors to excuse his warmth by saying he took what was said as level'd at him.'² There for the moment the matter ended. The Carsphairn murder and the raid on Kirkcudbright followed hard on the scene in Council. If, as seems probable, Queensberry's irritating remark had oblique reference to Claverhouse's marriage, and the suspicion it cast upon his zeal, his decisive action at Bridge of Dee was sufficient answer.³ He had some reason,

¹ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 580. As to the clothing of his own regiment, Claverhouse writes to Queensberry on 13th September 1683: 'Your Lordship may remember I got licence to import read cloath for my trouپ, and so much gray cloath for the trompeters and ketledrumers. The cloath being imported I presented to my Lord Ch[ancellor, Aberdeen] in counsell a declaration under the colectors hand that it had been visited and the deus payed, and therefor deasyred up my bond of 500 p. st. My lord was pleased to refer all to your Lordship. I also informed him that the gray cloath was not of the right color, and therefor desyr I might have lieve to cary it bak to Ingland and bring other in the place of it, or els that those of the manifactory might have it, and I aloued to bring in as much' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 284).

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 212. The letter is dated 18th December 1684.

³ There is no doubt that Queensberry represented Claverhouse as inactive against the Whigs, and that his marriage was seized upon as a plausible foundation for the allegation. See Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 43. David Graham of Claverhouse was upon the jury that condemned Robert Baillie of Jerviswood on 24th December 1684 (*The Tryal and Process of High-Treason and Doom of Forfaulture against Mr. Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, Traitor.* Edin. 1685, p. 38).

therefore, to be 'extreamly piqued' at receiving through Melfort an admonitory letter in answer to that he had written to James.¹ Melfort, seemingly, was doing his utmost to fan James's resentment: 'As for Claverhouse,' he wrote to Queensberry on 10th January 1685, 'I am sure the Duke does not at all approve his carriage, and I have done as I ought; but since I had your last, I have not spoken to the Duke. I would know by the first if Claverhouse took leave of your Grace before he went west; for in that point the Duke contradicted me, and said he had, which I said was more than I knew.'²

Since his raid upon the Whigs at Bridge of Dee, Claverhouse had been deprived of further opportunity to show that his marriage had not modified his principles. On 4th December 1684 Lord George Drummond had been commissioned to proceed to the south-western shires with justiciary powers. Four of the six troops of Claverhouse's regiment were placed at his disposal.³ Claverhouse was given employment elsewhere, and with Balcarres opened a similar Court of Justiciary in Fifeshire on 15th January 1685.⁴ At about the same time his rival, Douglas, was despatched to Galloway, Claverhouse's particular preserve. Fountainhall, no prejudiced admirer of Claverhouse, frankly hints the motive of Douglas's selection as a desire on Queensberry's part 'to put a rub on Claverhouse,' in the hope that 'the glory' of defeating the Whigs might fall to his brother. Douglas, in fact, got scant glory from his expedition. He was nearly killed in an obscure skirmish and lost one of his officers, the only one so far in the death-roll of the rebellion.⁵

¹ Melfort to Queensberry, 3rd Jan. 1685, in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Queensberry and Buccleuch MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 158.

⁴ Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 602.

⁵ Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 146; *Chronological Notes*, p. 43.

Meanwhile the cabal against Claverhouse energetically pursued him at Court. Queensberry desired permission to proceed against him for recovery of the fines which he had exacted as Sheriff in Galloway. A considerable portion of them had been expended in the public service. In April 1682 Claverhouse had not received 'a farthing mony' from the Exchequer to finance his vigorous measures.¹ In the previous February, asking for a gift of the forfeited personalty of any against whom he could bring proof of rebellion, he had undertaken to support from that source 'all the expence of the government, as mantinence of prisoners, witness, speys, and all other expence necessary in this contry.'² Fines, in fact, were reckoned an ordinary source of revenue,³ and there is not a shred of evidence to prove that Claverhouse had put into his own pocket more than his office entitled him to by way of stipend, namely the balance of funds applied by him to the public service. The system was vicious and uneconomical. Also it offered an easy method of reprisal when one of its agents fell into disgrace with his employers. Claverhouse, however, was under a more personal obligation. The gift of Freuch to him had been conditioned by his payment to the Exchequer of a sum calculated upon a two years' purchase of it. Queensberry himself had used his influence to quash that condition,⁴ and in May 1684 Claverhouse had the King's promise that it would not be exacted. And as to his 'bond for the superplus of the fynes of Galloway,' Claverhouse told Queensberry, the King had 'ordered a letter impouring your Lordship to give account of what we should have, both for expence and reward; and this I may saifly say was spent.'⁵ None the less, relying upon Claverhouse's

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 271.

² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

³ Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 420.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 276.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

diminished interest, Queensberry pushed the matter persistently. In September 1684 Melfort had told him that it was 'unfitt' for him to press the subject then, though he had hopes that James would take it up. He added, that as Claverhouse 'has a promis for the 2 years [purchase of Freuch], that may be delayed.'¹ Queensberry acquiesced.² On 20th January 1685 Melfort sent further encouragement:³ 'I have got orders from his Royal Highness,' he reported, 'to send Claverhous such a reprimand, as, I hope, uill sufficiently sho his Royal Highnesses displeasure, and prevent thes sort of discourses⁴ for the future, and yet kept the mater intire till your Grace has time to informe the Duke upon the place.' For some reason, however, James was induced to sanction more summary action. Four days later (24th January 1685) Melfort informed Queensberry: 'I uaited for a fitt oportunity to mov the Duke in Claverhous' affair, and am nou commanded to tell your Grace that tho' the Duke desires nothing in the tuo years' rent of the forfeaulted esteats [of Freuch] to be done till he coms to Scotland, yet he orders the fynes uplifted by Claverhous to be counted for, and payed in, or any other bond to be sued for, that he or any other may upon that accompt be ouing to the King; so nou uithout a grudge, ye may call for them.' 'I am affrayed that gentleman,' he added, 'has mistaken his measures, and if he persist, I question not that he uill find it so.'⁵

Melfort's forecast of events proved accurate, though Claverhouse, with characteristic buoyancy, survived the apparent wreck of his fortunes. For the moment the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Queensberry and Buccleuch MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 172.

² See Melfort's letter of 15th Jan. 1685 in *ibid.* p. 207.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁴ The reference is to Claverhouse's altercation with Queensberry in Council on 11th December 1684.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Queensberry and Buccleuch MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 209.

cabal against him triumphed, and at a critical period. On 6th February 1685 Charles the Second died, and James the Seventh, once Claverhouse's patron and now his somewhat reluctant judge, entered upon his brief and troubled reign. On 10th February Claverhouse signed the proclamation of his accession at Edinburgh.¹ Within a few weeks he was pointedly excluded from the Privy Council. To that incongruous pass his marriage and Queensberry's unprincipled exploiting of it had brought him.

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 202. The fact may be held to dispose of the statement in the *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 11), to the effect that Claverhouse was at Court when Charles the Second died. He was certainly not in London on the day after Charles's death; for Melfort writes to Queensberry on 7th February 1685 regarding Claverhouse: 'I hav some ground to beleiv he will come hither.'

CHAPTER X

THE NEW REIGN

THE new reign opened ominously for one whose career was destined to be almost its Scottish epitome. Queensberry lost no time in acting upon the permission accorded him.¹ 'I had a letter from Claverhouse,' Melfort reported to him on 7th February 1685, 'complaineing of a charge of horning for the Bond givn to your Grace for fynes collected by him and not payed in. He has urytt to others upon the same point, but least it might hav bein thought, as indeid I found it uas, that it had bein upon the accompt of the tuo years' rent of [Freuch], I explaned the mater so as he is thought as impudent for not paying, as he uold hav your Grace thought for charging him malicious. I shal uatch his motions hear; but I beleiv he may doe mor against himself by coming up uithout leav, then you could uish to see come upon him. I hav some ground to beleiv he uill come hither.'² Claverhouse was, in fact, anxious above everything to lay his case personally before the King. That opportunity was denied, and Dudhope held him an impatient prisoner.³ Melfort's correspondence alone gives a glimpse of him. He was not without hopes, apparently, of a royal remission in his

¹ See above, p. 186.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 214.

³ He witnesses the baptism of Jean, daughter of John Wedderburn and his wife, Rachel Dunmore, at Dundee on 16th February 1685 (*Wedderburn Book*, vol. ii. p. 496)

favour. Melfort hastened to reassure Queensberry.¹ 'I am confident Claverhous has no ground to expect a precept for his mony. . . . I am confident it uill not be in his pouer to disturbe the King's servants' peace in any thing; nor I hope uill he hav the impudence to designe it.' 'I am sorry,' he wrote a few days later,² 'Claverhous should be such a fool as to continou after the King's commands. If the King come to take inspectione in the affair, Claverhous uill not find himself right in thes methods.' Drumlanrig, Claverhouse's subordinate, arrived at Court to watch his father's interests. He brought fresh reports of his colonel's irreconcilable demeanour. 'I am really sorry at Claverhous' cariage,' Melfort wrote to Queensberry (24th February), 'tho' ye kno my opinione of him befor this fell out.' James's attitude, he admitted, was an uncertain quantity. As he phrased it, 'the King has uneasy consequenses.' 'But,' he added, 'if he [Claverhouse] uill play the fool, he most drink as he breus.'³ Clearly James was a reluctant party to the intrigue. Claverhouse appealed directly to him. 'I had a letter from Claverhous this day,' Melfort wrote to Queensberry on 28th February, 'and the King another. He desires to come up, but I shal prevent it till your Grace come, if I can; but I dare promis nothing.'⁴

In March 1685 Queensberry himself arrived at Court.⁵ His departure left Claverhouse in angry mood. He had asked in Council for time to meet his bond to the Exchequer, and to enable his brother to collect the fines in Galloway. He was granted five or six days. Considering

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 216. The letter is dated 16th February 1685. Melfort adds: 'I admire much of his frendship uith Earl Aberdein; if it be true, he is a fyne man.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 217. The letter is dated 21st February 1685.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁵ He set out from Edinburgh on 7th March 1685 (Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 126).

the distance at which Galloway lay, he protested, five or six days' grace was 'as good as none at all.' 'Then you shall have none,' Queensberry had rejoined.¹ At the same time another 'rub' was put upon him. The enforcement of the Abjuration Oath in Galloway had brought reprisals by their more resolute brethren upon those who had taken it. The Council, therefore, again sent Colonel Douglas to that district, in face of the recommendation of the ministers of Galloway, who urged that 'Claveris's name was more formidable ther.'² Yet another opportunity was found for Douglas's service. The appearance of a number of 'desperate rebels in arms,' marching unchecked through Ayrshire, was reported to the Council on 24th March 1685. Douglas was ordered to deal with them.³ A day or two later he received larger powers. Claverhouse's commission as Sheriff of Wigton had expired with the late King's death. It was not renewed.⁴ On 27th March 1685 a commission was drawn in favour of 'our trusty and well beloved counsellor, colonel James Douglas, colonel of our regiment of guards, to be our Justice in all the southern and western shires.' Claverhouse was present in Council on that date, but his signature is pointedly absent from those confirming his rival's commission.⁵ To Claverhouse there remained only his coloneley; his commission was renewed on 30th March 1685.⁶ His seat on the Privy Council was with-

¹ Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 126. In the same writer's *Historical Notices* (vol. ii. p. 623) the date of the incident appears as 2nd March 1685.

² Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 623. The order is dated 2nd March 1685.

³ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 206.

⁴ This fact is of importance in view of the endeavour that has been made to connect Claverhouse through his commission with the judicial sentences of the 'Killing Time.'

⁵ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 207; *Privy Council Acta* (MS.), vol. Feb.—31st Dec. 1685, fol. 31.

⁶ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. ix. fol. 361.

drawn on 3rd March 1685.¹ Such was the harvest of Queensberry's plodding hostility. The 'pretence' he exploited, as Fountainhall remarks, was that Claverhouse, 'having married a daughter of a phanatick familie, viz. Dundonald, he was not fitt to be trusted with the King's secrets.'²

James was but half converted to the vengeful policy which Queensberry pressed on him. 'Last night the Kinge told me,' Moray wrote (4th April 1685), 'that tho' he had put Claverous off the Councill, to show him and others that he would support his ministers, . . . yit he wished that I uold uryt to Claverous and tell him that be makeing acknowligment of his fault to your Grace, he would restor him to his place and favour.' 'I told his Majesty,' he continued, 'he kniw Claverous to be of a hye, proud and peremptor humor.' Such a letter as James ordered would 'blow up his [Claverhouse's] humor to a greater highe [*sic*] of insolence then ever. Besyd that he uold certinly talk of it uithe intollerable conset and vanety.' James yielded. 'This,' Moray concluded, 'hes bine put in the King's head, but I doe not know by whom.'³

Even upon the terms the King proposed, Claverhouse for the moment was unwilling to purchase his pardon. He continued to refuse an 'application' or apology to Queensberry.⁴ James sent a reprimand (16th April 1685),⁵

¹ The King's letter constituting the new Council is dated 3rd March 1685 (*Warrant Book*, MS. Register House). Claverhouse took his seat for the last time in Council on 3rd April 1685 (*Privy Council Acta*). The new commission was opened and recorded on 9th April 1685.

² Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 128.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 47.

⁴ Moray expresses surprise on that account on 14th April 1685 (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 51).

⁵ Melfort to Queensberry in *ibid.*, p. 220. Melfort writes: 'The King, having nottice that Claverous has not bein to pay that civility that was fitt, has by this post ordered him to doe it, so concerned is he to hav that mater at ane end to your Grace's satisfactions.'

and the new Council on the same date made an order 'in odium' of the stubborn colonel, inviting any 'to complain on him' to his further undoing.¹ Claverhouse would not budge an inch from his stubborn position until he had exhausted his hopes of James's favour. Upon the arrival at Edinburgh of the new commission of Council he had written (11th April 1685) to James to renew his request for permission to plead his case personally. Moray sent the King's answer: 'Sir, I had yours of the ij, and acquainted the King uithe your desire of haueing leaw to com up: and am commanded to returne you this ansswer —That, when you haw made your applicatione to his Commissioner [Queensberry], and by his favorable representatione is restored to your place in Cowncill, his Majestie will allow you to com up, but by no means befor that time.' Moray enclosed a copy of it for Queensberry's satisfaction. He had had difficulty in inducing James to sanction it, and was convinced that the King 'had bine dealt with in the matter, by his uay of anssweringe me at first.'² James, in fact, was probably aware that Queensberry was making the utmost of Claverhouse's alleged affront, and was disinclined to accept Queensberry's sinister interpretation of the Cochrane marriage. On 1st May 1685³ Moray had another audience of him. Claverhouse in the meanwhile had bowed to necessity. Queensberry had received overtures, barely an apology from him. James complained that Queensberry had not yet informed him of the fact. Moray replied, that the 'application' Claverhouse had made was 'as bade, and rather uors then he had forborne it.' Claverhouse ought,

¹ Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 128.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 53. In spite of James's refusal, Moray seems not to have been surprised at a rumour that on 28th April 1685 Claverhouse was in London (*ibid.*, p. 59).

³ On the same date Claverhouse was engaged in the summary execution of John Brown of Priesthill.

he urged, to be compelled to make a 'signall acknowlegment' of his fault. James made no reply, 'walked up and doune a great uhyll silent, and then sayd he uold consider of it.'¹ A week later his mind was made up. 'Yisterday, when uee uear coming auay from the King,' Moray wrote to Queensberry (9th May 1685), 'he caled me bak, and tould me he was posetively resolved to send doune a letter uithe E. Dumbarton² for putinge Claverous on the Councill, but that he uold hawe non to know of it, and it uas to lye in your hand uhyle you thought fitt to doe it.'³ On 11th May 1685 Moray, with reluctance one imagines, countersigned a letter under the royal sign-manual restoring Claverhouse to the Privy Council,⁴ from which a month earlier he had been so pointedly excluded. The single check in his prosperous career lay behind him. He had fought the crisis single-handed. The event of it stands a signal testimony to the strength of his sovereign's good-will.

For two months Claverhouse delayed to resume his seat in the Council. The fact was due in part to impediments slowly surmounted, of which Queensberry was the architect; in part to imperative calls upon his service in another sphere. The vindictive and retaliatory spirit which Renwick's Declaration had evoked has already been touched upon. Under the new King the policy framed in November 1684 remained official still. No added ferocity distinguished the methods by which James was resolved to stamp out the rebellious spirit which had confronted his brother. In May 1685, as in November 1684,

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 61.

² Lord George Douglas had been created Earl of Dumbarton in 1675. Shortly after James's accession he was appointed to direct the campaign against Argyll (*Dict. Nat. Biography*).

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 64. Moray ascribes James's resolution to Claverhouse's 'new alleys' with the Duke of Hamilton (*ibid.*, p. 65). See above, p. 155.

⁴ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. ix. fol. 499.

the Abjuration Oath was the sieve whose mesh should winnow the loyal from the disloyal. The 'Killing Time,' as pictured by Covenanting historians, is an orgy of slaughter gloatingly engineered by a Government surpassing Nero in the lust of it. Persecution it was, cruel it was, ill-judged it was in its futile endeavour to force an outward and detested conformity in the teeth of profound antagonism. But a Carnival of Blood, wanton, unprovoked, and heedless, it was not.

James had not reigned a month before a new method was hit upon to rid the kingdom of those whom the Government had every right to regard as disloyal, and to relieve them from the extreme consequences of their attitude. Framed on 26th February 1685 and published on the following 2nd March, the new King offered indemnity to all those at the moment declared fugitive, provided that within twenty days after 2nd March they took the oath of allegiance, or in default gave caution to leave the kingdom before 20th May 1685.¹ Compulsory exile may differ but little in degree of severity from summary execution. The present point is merely that the alternative was offered, and that those who neglected it courted inevitably the consequences of their rejection of it. Queensberry's instructions (28th March 1685) as High Commissioner of the impending meeting of the Estates left no loophole for doubt that the consequences would be enforced. He was ordered to secure the passing of an Act 'defining the diligence to be done by Sheriffs and other magistrates within and without their bounds, in the cases of rebellion, disorders, appearance of rebels or disorderly persons, conventicles, etc., and in what

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 205. The murderers of Archbishop Sharp, of the minister of Carsphairn, and of Kennoway and Stewart at Swineabbey, were excepted from the Indemnity. The Indemnity was withdrawn upon the outbreak of Argyll's rebellion. The royal order to that effect is dated 25th May 1685 (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 96).

manner the heretors and commons shall rise, concur and pursue after such, give in intelligence of any conventicles, appearances of rebells, disorderly or vagrant persons. raise the country, follow and pursue, take, apprehend, or kill them, inform magistrates or their respective landlords, or the landlords their superiour officers in the shire.' 'You are likewise,' his instructions ran, 'to endeavour the obtaining an Act, declaring all preaching at conventicles in houses (as well as in the fields) to be death in the preacher, and banishment and great fines in the hearers and landlords, as also severe fines upon cities or townes where such conventicles shalbe kept.'¹ The Estates opened on 23rd April 1685. The Chancellor's speech is eloquent of its temper. 'We have a new sect sprung up among us,' he said,² 'from the dunghill, the very dreggs of the people, who kill by pretended inspiration, and instead of the temple of the Lord, had nothing in ther mouths but the word, wreisting that blessed conveyance of His holy will to us to justifie a practice, suggested to them by him who was a murtherer from the beginning, who haveing modelld themselves into a commonwealth (whose idoll is that accursed paper the Covenant, and whose only rule is to have non at all) have proceeded to declaire themselves noe longer his Majestie's subjects, to forfeit all of us who have the honour to serve him in any considerable station, and will be sure ere long to doe so, if not prevented by this great and honourable court. It is how to ridde our selves of these men, and of all who inclyne to ther principles, that we are to offer to his Majestie our advice, concurrence and utmost assistance. These monsters bring a publick reproach upon the nation in the eyes of all our neighbours abroad, while in ther Gazetts we are mentiond as acting the vilest

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. pp. 92, 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

assassinations and the horriddest villanies. They render us unquiet and unsecure at home; they bring reproach upon our religion and are our great plague. Lett us for the saike of our alledgiance, for his Majestie's honour, for our reputation abroad, for the vindication of our religion, and for our ounne peace and tranquillitie, make haiste to gett our selves cured of it.' The Estates responded heartily to the invitation.¹

Neither in the Council nor in Parliament was Claverhouse concerned in the drafting of the measures which the King's advisers advocated. Virtually the country was under martial law, and he and the regiment under his command were required to administer it. He did so with an assured conviction that the policy ordained was just and necessary. He executed it with vigour, but not indiscriminately. In a persecution whose proportions have been vastly overestimated, the tale of victims traditionally and generously accorded him is grotesque in its exaggeration.²

Claverhouse breaks a long silence in a letter to Queensberry on 3rd May 1685.³ The purport of it would read reproachfully to one who so lately had represented its writer the captive of a Whig Delilah. The letter narrated

¹ See *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. pp. 91-98.

² A typical case may be mentioned here. According to Defoe (*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 252) Claverhouse saw a man riding ahead of him on the highway. As he refused to stop when summoned to do so, Claverhouse ordered one of his men to shoot him as he rode before them. It was found afterwards that he was deaf. His name was Robert Auchinleck. That is Defoe's story. Wodrow (vol. iv. p. 184) says that the man's Christian name was William; that he was a 'full conformist,' but rode on for fear lest his horse should be taken from him; that he outdistanced his pursuers, who came up with him while he was drinking at a public-house. Finally, his executioner was not Defoe's 'murthering Persecutor' Claverhouse, but a 'company of Douglas's foot.' The incident took place, no doubt, upon one or other of Douglas's missions in January or March 1685.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 292. The letter is dated from Galston, Ayrshire.

an incident which Wodrow, by a judicious but reprehensible suppression of pertinent facts, has represented as the wanton murder of a peaceable and unoffending man, whose only fault was his nonconformity. Let Claverhouse tell his own story :

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—

On Frayday last,¹ amongst the hilles betuixt Douglas and the Plellands, we perseued tuo fellous a great way throu the mosses, and in end seised them. They had no armes about them and denyed they had any, but being asked if they would take the abjuration, the eldest of [the] tuo, called John Broun, refused it, nor would he swear not to ryse in armes against the King, but said he kneu no King ; upon which, and there being found bullets and match in his house and treasonable peapers, I caused shoot him dead,² which he suffered very unconcernedly. The other, a yong fellou, and his nepheu, called John Brounen, offered to take the oath ; but would not swear that he had not been at Neumilles³ in armes at the rescuing the prisoners. So I did not knou what to doe with him. I was convinced that he was guilty, but sawe not hou to proceed against him ; wherfor after he had said his prayers and carabins presented to shoot him, I offered to him that if he would make ane ingeneous confession and make a discoverie that might be of any importance for the Kings service, I should delay puting him to death, and plead for him ; upon which he confessed that he was at that attake of Neumilles, and that he had com straight to this house of his uncles on Sunday morning.⁴ In the mean time he was making this confession the souldiers found out a house in the hille under ground, that could hold a dusen of men, and there wer swords and pistolles in it ; and this fellou declaired that they belonged to his uncle, and that

¹ 1st May 1685.

² Summary execution before two witnesses was the penalty of refusal to take the Abjuration Oath. The Council's resolution to that effect was dated 22nd November 1684. (See Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 154). Even Wodrow, while hinting that the 'murders' of 1685 were carried out by some who were not commissioned under this order, admits that Claverhouse was lawfully empowered under it (vol. iv. p. 155).

³ The rescue alluded to took place in April 1685. See Napier, vol. i. p. 142 ; Fountsainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 160.

⁴ 25th April 1685.

he had lurked in that place ever since Bothwell,¹ where he was in armes. He confessed that he had a halbart and told who gave it him about a month agoe, and we have the feleou prisoner. He gave account of the names of the most pairt of those that wer there. They wer not above sixty, and they wer all Gaston and Neumilles men, saive a feu out of Streven parish. He gave also account of a conventicle kept by Renek² at the bak of Carantable,³ where there wer threttin scor of men in armes mustered and exercised, of which number he was with his hallard. He tells of ane other conventicle about three moneths agoe kept near Louden Hille, and gives account of the persons wer at both, and what childring wer baptised, particularly that at Carntable, which was about the time that Liev: Muray and Crichton should have laiten them eskeap. He also gives account of those who gave any assistance to his uncle, and we have seised there upon the good man of the upmost Plellands and ane other tenent about a myll belou, that is flaid upon it. I dout not but if we had time to stay, good use might be made of his confession. I have acquyted my self when I have told your Grace the caise. He has been but a moneth or tuo with his halbart; and if your Grace thinks he deserves no marcy, justice will pass on him, for I, having no comission of justiciary myself,⁴ have delyvered him up to the Lievetenent Generall [William Drummond of Cromlix] to be disposed of as he pleases.—I am, my Lord, your Graces most humble servant,

J. GRAHAME.

Who was John Brown? What justification had Claverhouse for his summary execution? How comes it that

¹ i.e. the battle of Bothwell in 1679.

² James Renwick.

³ Cairn Table.

⁴ Douglas had received a comprehensive justiciary power on 27th March 1685 for the southern and western shires (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 207). Claverhouse had no power to deal summarily with any case other than a refusal to take the Abjuration Oath. His name is not found in the long list of deputies who were ordered to assist Douglas in the exercise of his justiciary commission. Claverhouse's brother David is among them, however, and he is described as 'sheriff of Galloway, in the shire of Wigton, and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.' An examination of the *Warrant Book* in the Record Office, however, reveals the fact that David Graham had received no commission as Sheriff of Galloway from James the Seventh up to 11th May 1685, the date of his alleged participation in the Wigton murders. See p. 133 above.

Defoe's 'murthering Persecutor,' traditionally greedy for blood, spared the nephew, and condemned the uncle to instant death?

John Brown, a man approaching his sixtieth year, dwelt at Priesthill near Muirkirk, an Ayrshire village. He was a carrier by occupation—men called him the 'Christian carrier.' He had for many years been a marked man, and, upon Wodrow's admission, had been 'a long time upon his hiding in the fields.' Being not only of 'shining piety,' but also of 'solid digested knowledge and experience,' with a 'singular talent of a most plain and affecting way of communicating his knowledge to others,' he had employed his leisure in instructing youths, who, 'wanting the advantage of sermons, needed instructions when they came and joined themselves to the sufferers.'¹ There is no reason to doubt Wodrow's eulogy, though Walker endows John Brown with an impediment which harmonises barely with Wodrow's record of his gifts.² But Wodrow's assertion, that Brown was 'no way obnoxious to the Government, except for not hearing the episcopal ministers,' is as far from the truth as his suggestion that the Abjuration Oath was not offered to the unhappy man.³ Brown's death was far from being the unlicensed and wanton murder of one whose only crime was nonconformity. His record can be traced, and it entirely negatives Wodrow's ingenuous picture of passive nonconformity. His name is found among those declared

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 244.

² Brown was 'a man of stammering speech,' according to Walker (*Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. Hay Fleming, vol. i. p. 84).

³ Even the epitaph on Brown's grave at Priesthill convicts Wodrow of inaccuracy, if not of a deliberate intention to suppress a material fact. Brown was 'murdered,' says the epitaph, 'for his testimony to the Covenanted work of Reformation, Because he durst not own the authority of the then Tyrant destroying the Same' (Thomson, *Martyr Graves*, p. 144). The inscription gives Brown's age as fifty-eight.

outlaws in the royal proclamation of 5th May 1684.¹ Amid the quiet activities which Wodrow attributes to him he yet had leisure to bring himself prominently before the authorities. Two months before his death a committee of the Privy Council had expressly recommended his exclusion from the Indemnity published on 2nd March 1685, as one who 'refuses the allegiance.'² Wodrow's picture of the unsuspecting old man suddenly seized while, with a conscience void of offence, he was cutting his peats, is yet further discredited when we turn to Claverhouse's despatch. It was only after pursuing Brown and his nephew 'a great way throu the mosses' that Claverhouse succeeded in capturing them. Both denied the possession of arms, a statement which was not true. A search of the house at Priesthill, to which they were brought, revealed the existence of 'bullets and match' stored in it. On the hillside a hiding-place was also discovered 'under ground, that could hold a dusen of men, and there wer swords and pistolles in it.' The nephew, after John Brown's execution, when his information could not harm him, admitted that the arms were his uncle's, the hiding-place his also, and that John Brown had lurked there 'ever since Bothwell, where he was in armes.' In the house itself were discovered 'treasonable papers.' Their nature can only be inferred. Possibly they were no more than Brown's correspondence with other 'society people.' Possibly they were of a more dangerous character. Alexander

¹ The list is printed by Wodrow. The entry regarding Brown is: 'John Brown of Priestfield, for reset' (vol. iv. p. 18). It may be noticed that Wodrow elsewhere misnames Brown's home as Priestfield. This points to his familiarity with Brown's appearance in the fugitive roll, a fact which in his narrative he carefully suppressed.

² The report is dated 10th March 1685. The extract runs: 'John Brown, an old man, in the fugitive roll, refuses the allegiance, and so ought not to have the benefit of the indemnity' (quoted in Aytoun, *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, 2nd edit. p. 344).

Peden, a stormy petrel, had parted company with him a few hours before, with prophetic forebodings, it is asserted, of the tragedy to follow.¹ Argyll sailed from Holland on the morrow of it.² But the character of the 'treasonable papers' is irrelevant. Brown was not condemned upon them. He was offered the authorised test of loyalty—the oath abjuring Renwick's rebellious Declaration. He refused to take it, or to undertake not to take up arms against the King. The consequences he cannot have been ignorant of. Summary execution before two witnesses was the punishment enjoined by the Council. His fate was inevitable whoever had been his judge, for there was no alternative. 'I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly,' is Claverhouse's terse record of the scene. Even the martyrologists admit that he gave the unhappy victim, whom the law and not he condemned, a respite for prayer and leavetaking.³

¹ Patrick Walker, *Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. Hay Fleming, vol. i. p. 84.

² *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock*, Scott. Hist. Soc., p. 114.

³ The amplification of tradition has added various picturesque or harrowing details to the scene, which can be dismissed. While Walker states that a file of six troopers shot Brown, and that 'the most part of the bullets came upon his head,' Wodrow thought fit to represent the troopers as so affected by Brown's eloquent prayer that Claverhouse 'was forced to turn executioner himself, and in a fret shot him with his own hand.' Howie (*Scots Worthies*, vol. i. p. 455), with an even more fevered imagination, declares that Claverhouse actually feared the mutiny of his melted troops, and 'snatched a pistol from his own belt,' and so forth. The taunts which Claverhouse is alleged to have made to the unhappy widow are too foolish for consideration. They were obviously incubated in a circle which was not instructed in the standards of gentleness. The jeering at a woman whose husband lay dead at her feet (if indeed she was present) is too gross and palpable a fiction to pass current with those who remember that if Claverhouse was a persecutor he had also the instincts and training of a gentleman. The allegation is also wholly at variance with the character he reveals in his letters. His alleged profane answer to the woman's rebuke rests upon a similar plane. The presence of John Brown's wife at his execution is asserted with varying details which bespeak the fact that no coherent and authoritative account of the circumstance was at the disposal even of the martyrologists of a

It is hardly necessary to point out that, even if other disproof were wanting, the perverted account of John Brown's death, which Wodrow and Macaulay have sponsored, is shattered by Claverhouse's treatment of John Brown's nephew on the same occasion. His name was John Brownen, or Browning. He at first refused to confess that he was concerned in a recent rescue of prisoners at Newmilns. He offered, however, to take the Oath of Abjuration. Thereby he avoided his uncle's fate. But clearly he was no passive nonconformist. 'I was convinced that he was guilty,' Claverhouse told Queensberry, 'but sawe not hou to proceed against him.' He bade him prepare for death, and then offered him his life if he would confess his part in the Newmilns rescue, and give information incriminating his colleagues. Browning did both. 'He has been but a moneth or tuo' in arms, Claverhouse reported to Queensberry in extenuation of his case; adding, that having no commission of justiciary himself, he had delivered him up to the proper authority. The case is typical of the methods of a man who, heartily concurring in the policy of which he was an agent, allowed neither zeal, vindictiveness, nor the strongest presumptions of guilt to carry him a hair's-breadth beyond the limit which the law and his commission allowed him.

To disentangle Claverhouse from the meshes in which the insatiable credulity, to call it by no other name, of

later generation. That she was forced to witness her husband's death is incredible. That she should have done so, impelled by a dreadful fascination, is possible; but that she should have brought out her children to witness the tragedy surpasses the power of belief. Yet Wodrow says her 'young infant' was with her, and that she was *enceinte*. Walker says her child was in her arms, and that there was with her also 'another child of his [Brown's] first wife's.' He does not mention her approaching confinement. Alexander Shields (*A Short Memorial*, p. 35), writing only five years after the event, states briefly that Brown was shot 'before his own door, in presence of his wife.' He mentions no children, nor any of the horrible and fictitious details which tradition had crystalised into facts when Wodrow was eagerly searching for them.

uncritical writers has bound him is a task which, easy in itself, all but exhausts the patience in view of its apparent futility. Literature of the type of Wodrow meets a demand which in itself speaks to the aloofness of Claverhouse and the policy he typifies from the strong undercurrent of his countrymen's ideals and aspirations. It is poured out in profusion. It still takes Wodrow, Macaulay, and epitaphic testimony, as its sufficient and satisfying authority. It is ignorant or contemptuous of every species of literature which corrects its hide-bound prejudices. It moves in its narrow, uninformed groove, and will do so to the end of the chapter. There is not in the whole range of history a literature so uninformed, so aloof from the method and inquiry which modern usage demands as essential, so wedded to indelible and prejudiced impressions, as that which owns Wodrow and Howie of Lochgoin as its parents. All honour to the spirit which cribs and confines its outlook. But would that some power should irrevocably level its output to the standard which even the meanest and least reputable writer of history holds before him! Prejudice is pardonable; but prejudice founded upon wilful neglect of evidence is beyond condonation.

The traditional account of John Brown's death, a characteristic illustration of the Wodrowesque method, pales to insignificance before a cherished example of Claverhouse's illegal violence which is alleged to have occurred at Mauchline, not far distant, five days later (6th May 1685). Defoe, as almost invariably, presents the fable in its most extravagant form. According to him, Claverhouse had discovered five men, whose names he does not mention, confined in different prisons in the locality. Attendance at conventicles was their only crime. None the less, 'without any Trial or other Sentence than his own Command, his (Claverhouse's) bloody

Soldiers fetch'd them all to Mauchlin, a Village where his Head Quarters were, and hang'd them immediately, not suffering them to enter into any House at their coming, nor at the Entreaty of the poor men, would permit One to lend them a Bible, who it seems offered it, nor allow them a Moment to pray to God.'¹ Patrick Walker² provides another version, which stands in curious contrast to Defoe's. He gives details of the five men, and the circumstances of their arrest. Peter Gillies was one of them. He was a native of Muiravonside,³ and was arrested, upon the information of the minister there, by a body of Highlanders under Lieutenant-General Drummond's orders.⁴ John Bryce, of West Calder, was also apprehended by the same force.⁵ At Carluke, on their southward progress, William Finneson, or Fiddison, and Thomas Young were made prisoners through the instrumentality of 'the Laird of Lee's footmen.'⁶ The four men were carried prisoners to Mauchline, Drummond's headquarters. All four of them were Walker's 'very dear acquaintances,' and with the circumstances of their arrest he may be deemed familiar. Claverhouse so far does not come into the story. The fifth of the Mauchline victims, according to Walker, was named John Binning, who had

¹ *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 250.

² *Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. Hay Fleming, vol. i. p. 297.

³ This I take to be Muirside, a village in old Monkland parish, Lanarkshire.

⁴ On 21st April 1685, 'upon rumors of fears of Argile's landing,' the Council had ordered a force of twelve hundred Highlanders to be 'presently' sent into the western shires at the disposal of Drummond and Colonel Douglas (Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 636).

⁵ Wodrow (vol. iv. p. 245), whose information is based upon 'a very large and circumstantiate account,' describes Gillies as 'a walker of cloth in a mill belonging to Sir James Murray of Skirling,' and as having already been punished for allowing his house to be used as a conventicle. John Bryce was a weaver.

⁶ Cromwell Lockhart of Lee was appointed one of Colonel James Douglas's deputies in the latter's commission of justiciary of date 27th March 1685 (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 207).

been apprehended while 'waiting upon cattle, without stocking or shoe.' He was certainly John Brounen, or Browning, whom Claverhouse, having no power of justiciary, had sent to Mauchline to be tried by Drummond immediately after John Brown's execution at Priesthill.¹ The five men were hanged 'all up upon one gibbet,' says Walker, 'without suffering them to pray at their death.' None were allowed 'either to sell them or lend them Bibles,' and 'their corps were buried upon the spot.' Walker does not aver, with Defoe, that the five men were executed without trial. Alexander Shields, whose evidence is most nearly contemporary, associates Dumbarton (of whose participation a word later) and Douglas with Claverhouse in the prisoners' execution, which, he asserts, was 'without Legal Tryal or Sentence.' The incident of Bibles withheld and of refusal of time for prayer also has his authority.² Obviously Shields and Walker jointly inspire the epitaph upon the gravestone of the five victims at Mauchline. It runs:—

'Bloody Dumbarton, Douglas, and Dundee,
Moved by the Devil and the Laird of Lee,
Dragg'd these five men to Death with gun and sword,
Not suffering them to Pray, nor Read God's Word;
Ouning the Work of God was all their Crime.
The Eighty-Five was a Saint Killing Time.'³

It already appears that Defoe's story is not true, so far as it places upon Claverhouse the sole responsibility for the death of the five men at Mauchline on 6th May 1685. One may further undermine the silly fable. It is alleged by Defoe and Walker that they were condemned without

¹ See above, p. 202.

² *A Short Memorial*, p. 34.

³ Thomson, *Martyr Graves*, p. 163. It may be noted that the name of the fifth sufferer is given as 'John Bruning'; and that the inscription was copied in 1830 from 'the old decayed tombstone.'

trial.¹ Is this the case? Wodrow himself prints a document in disproof of it, so far at least as Gillies and Bryce are concerned. It is the summons to them 'to compare before lieutenant-general Drummond, commissioner of justiciary, within the tolbooth or court place of Mauchlin, this fifth of May, to answer to your indictment.' A jury was panelled from among the soldiery, Wodrow states, and the five men were sentenced to be hanged 'at the town-end of Mauchlin, May 6th.' No coffins nor death-clothes were allowed them, 'but the soldiers and two country men made a hole in the earth near by, and cast them all together in it.'²

The Mauchline tragedy is a dismal picture of martial law in the guise of legal forms. Claverhouse's biographer is happily concerned only to dissociate Claverhouse from it. To do so is easy. The men were condemned under a commission of justiciary. Their judges were Drummond, and possibly Douglas and Lockhart of Lee, who were his deputies. Dumbarton, whom the epitaph mentions as one of the judges,³ had nothing to do with the sentence. Claverhouse was not qualified to sit upon the court. John Browning,⁴ in fact, is the only link that connects him with the case. If the John Bruning executed at Mauchline was the man made prisoner at Priesthill five days earlier, Claverhouse's share in the tragedy is that he

¹ Their epitaph makes the same statement: 'Here lies the Bodies of Peter Gillies, John Bryce, Thomas Young, William Fiddison, & John Bruning, Who Were Apprehended and Hanged without Trial at Mauchline, Anno 1685' (Thomson, *Martyr Graves*, p. 161).

² Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 246.

³ On 9th May 1685 Dumbarton was in London awaiting instructions to proceed to Scotland. See above, p. 193.

⁴ In the fugitive roll of 1684, under Galston parish, there appears the name of 'John Browning younger in Riccarton.' If he was John Brown's nephew, the following entry adds a detail to the family history: 'John Browning elder in Riccarton in Ayrshire' among the 'Fugitives for rebellion and treasonable crimes, since November 1683' (Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 18, 28).

handed over for trial by a competent authority a suspicious character whom he was not empowered to judge himself. If the two Brownings were different persons, Claverhouse was not connected with the case at all. In either event Defoe's accusation must be relegated to the limbo of discredited fables.

Claverhouse's movements in the early part of May 1685, and the persistence with which the Highland troops, summoned in anticipation of trouble from Argyll, are associated with him, suggest that Claverhouse and his regiment were joined with them in a comprehensive patrolling movement over a district already disaffected, and likely to give fresh trouble if rumours of Argyll's projected appeal to arms proved accurate. From Lesmahagow he had ridden to Muirkirk on the 1st of the month. On the 3rd he was at Galston, and clearly contemplated immediate marching orders. On the 10th he was far southward in Dumfriesshire, and added another to the roll of the victims whose epitaphs stand in false testimony against him. The case is that of Andrew Hislop.¹ Wodrow records the details of it, and his account coincides uneasily with the traditional picture of 'Bluidy Clavers.' Hislop, according to Wodrow,² was but a youth. He lived with his mother, 'a very honest religious woman.'

¹ At Craighaugh, in Eskdalemuir, Hislop was shot and buried. His epitaph states:—

'Here lyes Andrew Hislop
Martyr shot dead upon
This place by Sir James
Johnston of Westerhall
And John Graham of C
laverhouse for adheri-
ng to the word of God
Christ's kingly govern-
ment in his House and
the covenanted work of
Reformation against tyran-
ny, perjury and prelacy.'

(Thomson, *Martyr Graves*, p. 453.)

² Vol. iv. p. 249.

She and her household had been guilty of resetting 'one of the suffering people,' who died in her house and was buried 'in the fields near by' her house. The grave was discovered by Sir James Johnston of Westerhall, a neighbouring laird, to whom a commission of justiciary had been granted as one of Douglas's deputes on 27th March 1685.¹ He traced the body to the house which had sheltered it, pulled it down and turned out the woman and her children 'to the fields.' The crime of reset was specifically mentioned for condign punishment both in Douglas's commission of justiciary (27th March 1685) and in that of Drummond (21st April 1685).² On 10th May Claverhouse, who had just arrived in the district, came upon Andrew Hislop 'in the fields.' Had Hislop refused to accept the Abjuration Oath when offered to him, his fate would have been that of John Brown of Priesthill. He was dealt with, however, as Claverhouse had dealt with John Browning. He handed him over to Westerhall, who had the power of justiciary which Claverhouse lacked. Westerhall used it as Drummond and his deputes had used theirs at Mauchline. Hislop was tried and condemned to death. He had already been dealt with by Westerhall for reset. There is no evidence of further offence committed by him. Of his earlier punishment Claverhouse perhaps was ignorant. Certainly a second and extreme penalty was grossly unjust. That fact, rather than his 'reflections' upon John Brown's death, as Wodrow suggests, inspired Claverhouse's protest: 'The blood of this poor man be upon you, Westerhall, I am free of it.' Wodrow offers details curiously reminiscent of John Brown's execution. Claverhouse, he asserts, ordered 'a highland gentleman' to carry out the death-sentence. The officer refused, 'and drawing off his men at some distance, swore he would fight Claverhouse and his dragoons before he did it.'

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 207.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 207, 209.

Claverhouse thereupon ordered up a firing party of his own regiment, and Hislop met his fate.¹

Claverhouse's conduct is in keeping with his real rather than his traditional character. Finding Hislop lurking in the open, he had sent him to the proper authority for examination. Westerhall found that the lad had been already dealt with by himself. Hislop was able to purge himself of the suspicion which had caused his second arrest. Where one died 'justly,' as Claverhouse had told Queensberry, he had no scruple. Of callous disregard for human life there is no trace in him. Hislop's death was neither just nor judicious, and Claverhouse protested to the limit of his duty.²

The last instance of a summary execution conducted by Claverhouse, of which record exists, is the case of Matthew Meiklewrath. The date of his death is nowhere stated. In the churchyard of Colmonell, a Carrick village, a stone bears the following inscription:—

'I Matthew McIlwraith in this parish of Colmonell
By bloody Claverhouse I fell
Who did command that I should die
For owning Covenanted presbytery.
My Blood a Witness still doth stand
'Gainst all defections in this land.'³

¹ Alexander Shields (*Short Memorial*, p. 37) records the event thus: 'Sir James Johnstoun of Westerhall caused apprehend Andrew Hislop in the parish of Hutton in Anandale, delivered him up to Claverhouse, and never rested till he got him shot by Claverhouse his Troupers; Claverhouse would have delayed it, but Westerhall was so urgent, that Claverhouse was heard say, This Mans blood shall be upon Westerhall. May 1685.'

² The author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 218) points out that an asserted murder of three men near Glasgow, attributed to Claverhouse, on 11th May 1685, is disproved by the fact that Claverhouse on that date was in Eakdalemuir. The drowning of the Wigton martyrs also occurred on 11th May 1685. In regard to that crime it is not even necessary for Claverhouse to prove an *alibi*. His name is not connected with it even by such contemporary or quasi-contemporary writers as Shields, Defoe, or Wodrow. Nor was he indirectly and through delegated authority connected with it. His commission as Sheriff of Wigton had lapsed with Charles the Second's death, and had not been renewed. As to his brother David, who is described as Sheriff of Galloway in some accounts of the tragedy, I have pointed out already that he held no such commission on the date of the tragedy.

³ Thomson, *Martyr Graves*, p. 323.

Of Meiklewrath, beyond his death and the circumstances of it, nothing is known.¹ Wodrow does not mention him. Alexander Shields says no more than that Claverhouse 'authorised his Troop to kill Matthew Mckelurath, without any Examination.'² Defoe elaborates the incident with characteristic imaginativeness. Riding through Colmonell, Claverhouse, he asserts, 'saw a Man run hastily cross the Street before his Troop, and as he might suppose, did it to escape from or avoid them, tho' as the People of the Place related it, the poor Man had no Apprehensions of them, but as he [Claverhouse] took all Occasions for his bloody design, he commanded his Men to shoot this Person, without so much as Examining him, or asking who he was.'³ It is permissible to point out that if Meiklewrath was shot without a question being addressed to him, his epitaph somewhat generously interprets the significance of his death. It is, however, not only the discrepancy between the epitaph and the other accounts which renders it impossible to entertain the assertion that Meiklewrath was shot at sight and without a question being addressed to him. The cases of John Browning and Andrew Hislop indicate in the clearest manner Claverhouse's practice. The epitaph's ascription of Meiklewrath's death to his 'owning Covenanted presbytery' is, in the light of those two cases, tantamount to an admission that he was offered and refused the Oath of Abjuration. His case stands with that of John Brown.

Such is the record of Claverhouse's alleged 'murders.' In a critical period, the executant of savage laws, and in the eye of tradition the most unprincipled executant of them, the tale of Claverhouse's enormities is reduced,

¹ In the fugitive roll of 1684 (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 20) the name of 'Gilbert Mackilwraith in Dalwharroch' appears under Colmonell parish.

² *Short Memorial*, p. 35. He adds the date 'Anno 1685.'

³ *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 251.

upon examination, to the meanest residuum. The proportions of it lay Wodrow under the gravest suspicion of exaggeration as to the character and dimensions of a persecution in which the share of its alleged arch-Nero is demonstrably so infinitely less than that traditionally and unwarrantably assigned to him. Every charge against Claverhouse, culled from every source of authority, has been examined, and the result is as follows:—In the exercise of the plenary power of life and death vested in him he took two lives, and no more. In regard to one of them—John Brown of Priesthill—the evidence is positive to the fact that his victim was lawfully, though summarily, executed. In regard to the second—Matthew Meiklewrath—the evidence, though less clear, weighs to the conclusion that Claverhouse took a life legally forfeit for refusal to accept the test of loyalty which the Government, in the interests of public order and safety, thought fit to require. As a subordinate, executing the orders of an authority whose command he was not competent to disobey, and only after a formal, though ineffectual protest, Claverhouse took one life, and one life only, that of Andrew Hislop. Two of these cases, and probably the third, occurred at a time when the Government faced not only a virtual rebellion lately declared from within, but also an imminent expansion of it with Argyll's landing. Of an earlier period are the remaining death-penalties exacted by Claverhouse. The five men—to enlarge their numbers to the utmost figure—shot at Bridge of Dee in December 1684, died under circumstances which absolutely justified their pursuer in dealing with them as persons in overt rebellion against their sovereign. Two more men, partners with the five, and equally under the implication of overt rebellion, were reserved for trial by a tribunal legally established, and by that tribunal were legally condemned.

It appears, then, that the number of lives taken by Claverhouse in a period of the severest political crisis was precisely ten.¹ In the case of eight of these ten Claverhouse stands exonerated, either by the circumstances of their condemnation,² or by the circumstances under which they met their death,³ from the charge of arbitrary, cold-blooded, or vindictive blood-letting. Two cases alone stand, in which, upon his own initiative, Claverhouse exacted the death-penalty. In one of them absolutely, in the second of them with almost equal certainty, Claverhouse was no more than the agent in the carrying out of a sentence to which its victims were legally and knowably liable. The traditional Claverhouse of Wodrow, Howie, Defoe, and their unquestioning modern disciple, Macaulay, is familiar. 'Murdered by Bloody Clavers' is the conventional epitaph of rebel martyrs in whose death he had no particle of share. 'Bloody' in disposition he was not. 'Bloody' in execution he was not. Of the refinement of cruelty which condemned the Wigton martyrs to a lingering death there is in Claverhouse not a trace.⁴ The conclusion is insistent, that had he died plain John Graham of Claverhouse, and not Viscount of Dundee, the one

¹ If the number of those killed at Bridge of Dee was only four, the total number of persons whose death Claverhouse directly or indirectly caused was nine.

² i.e. the two prisoners captured at Bridge of Dee, and Andrew Hislop.

³ i.e. the four or five men shot in the pursuit at Bridge of Dee.

⁴ With Grierson of Lag, whom evidence associates with the Wigton outrage, Claverhouse was brought into relation on at least one occasion. John Bell of Whiteside, the stepson of Lord Kenmure, had been shot by Lag in February 1685 (Robert Simpson, *Gleanings among the Mountains*, p. 373). Some time after, Kenmure confronted Lag at Kirkcudbright. The two men nearly came to blows, and Claverhouse, who was present, parted them. The inn at which they met is said to have been standing in 1841 (Agnew, *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, vol. ii. p. 147. See Alexander Fergusson, *The Laird of Lag*, p. 47). Shields (*Short Memorial*, p. 37) states that Lag had under his orders 'a part of Claverhouses Troop' at the time of John Bell's death. Bell's grave is in Anwoth churchyard. See his epitaph in *A Cloud of Witnesses*, p. 387.

availing personality in Scotland in militant sympathy with the discredited policy of a Despot whose Champion he was, 'Bloody' Clavers had never been created to confound 'Bonnie' Dundee, and the tombstones of murdered martyrs had been purer for lack of the conventional libel of him.¹

On 20th May 1685 Argyll arrived at Campbeltown. Sir John Cochrane, Claverhouse's relative by marriage, was with him. Argyll's Declaration, and the reasons which impelled him to seek the overthrow of the Government, were 'publicly read with sound of trumpet' on the same day.² The brief rebellion stood proclaimed. Dumbarton had already been appointed to cope with it. On 18th May, two days before Argyll's proclamation, Claverhouse was commissioned a brigadier of the horse and foot.³ His rival, Douglas, received similar promotion. Queensberry's influence, however, secured him a narrow but useful margin of seniority. Moray had gained him that advantage after a sharp tussle with both Melfort and the King. The two commissions, he wrote to Queens-

¹ The author of *The Despot's Champion*, who was the first to make an exhaustive inquiry into Claverhouse's alleged atrocities, enumerates the grand recorded total of them as thirty-three. An examination of her list brings out the following suggestive facts. Seven cases are duplicates of others scheduled in the list, which reduces the total to twenty-six. Five more of them can be eliminated on the simple ground that Claverhouse was not in the locality on the date of their alleged occurrence (11th May 1685). That reduces the total to twenty-one. Six of the 'murders' were ordained by tribunals on which Claverhouse had no seat, and the sentences were not carried out by him (Graham of Galloway and the Mauchline sufferers). That reduces the list to fifteen. Four cases are those of nameless martyrs whom the *Ordnance Gazetteer* declares to have been shot at Birkhill, on apparently the vaguest evidence. The list of attested or arguable cases is thus reduced to eleven. In one of them (Auchinleck) Defoe's accusation is flatly contradicted by Wodrow. Of the remaining ten, whose lives alone lie at Claverhouse's door, two only were killed under circumstances which might justify the application of the term 'murder.' Both of them were summary executions, conducted in the manner which the law enjoined.

² *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock*, Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 118.

³ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. ix. fol. 525.

berry on 18th May, had been signed that afternoon, and 'ar sent hear uithe by L^d Charles Murray.' The King had designed to commission Claverhouse brigadier of the horse, and Douglas of the foot. Moray objected that Claverhouse in that case would be superior to Douglas. Melfort saw no reason why Douglas should not submit to a lesser position, except that he had the advantage of being Queensberry's brother. Moray backed Douglas as a man of more experience. Melfort replied that Claverhouse had served the King longer in Scotland. 'Wee uear verry hot on the matter,' wrote Moray: 'By this tym I flung from him [Melfort], and uent streight to the King, and represented the cace: he followed and came to us, but the King changed his mind, and orderd him to draw bothe the commissions bothe for hors and foot, and your brother's two days date befor the other, by uhich his comand is clire befor the other.'¹

Claverhouse watched from a distance the brief and ill-managed effort which ended with Argyll's capture and execution. The chief duty entrusted to him was the guarding of the Borders, to prevent communications between Argyll and Monmouth's adherents in England.² His headquarters appear to have been at Selkirk.³ On 23rd May 1685 the Council gave him *carte blanche* to 'propose what you judge expedient, and write it to the Earl of Dumbarton.' Lieutenant-General Drummond and

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 69. On 16th May 1685 Moray had told Queensberry that the commissions which the King designed for Claverhouse and Douglas were 'to lye in your Grace's hands, to be made uss of, in cace of any rebellion, and not otheruays' (*ibid.*, p. 68). As a further sign of Claverhouse's recovering influence after a period of obscuracion, it may be noticed that on 13th May 1685 he had been appointed by the Estates a Commissioner of Supply for Forfarshire (*Acts of the Parlt. Scot.*, vol. viii. p. 468).

² *The Memoirs of 1714*, ed. Jenner, p. 15.

³ Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 165. Wodrow (vol. iv. pp. 255-56) gives an account of Claverhouse's activity at this crisis.

Douglas were at or near Ayr, he was informed. The militia were to rendezvous at Linlithgow, and to be posted at Glasgow. Atholl was in Argyllshire, and Gordon at the head of Lochness. 'We hear,' they added, 'that about thirty horsemen came over the Border, and returned in a few hours.' The Deputy-Governor of Carlisle was to correspond with him.¹ Claverhouse's recommendations are unfortunately not extant. But his movements do not support the conclusion that he deemed his continuous presence near the Border necessary. The Lords of the Articles, to meet Argyll's Declaration and the sympathy it might evoke in persons already disaffected, had already (21st May 1685) drafted an Act 'for taking the oath of alledgeance and asserting the royall prerogative.'² The execution of it was added to Claverhouse's responsibilities. On 6th June 1685 he was at Kirkconnel in Nithsdale, enforcing it.³ He had arrived there from Ayr,⁴ whither he had proceeded probably to confer with Drummond. Dalmellington fell in his route, and there also he obliged the inhabitants to 'purge themselves of reset and converse with rebels.'⁵ From Kirkconnel he passed over

¹ Quoted in Napier, vol. iii. p. 460. Dumbarton's commission as Commander-in-Chief had been produced at Council on 22nd May 1685. Dalziel was joined in nominal command with him (*ibid.*).

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 121.

³ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 329. Claverhouse, he asserts, 'apprehended multitudes both men and women . . . caused many to swear never to lift arms against king James VII. under pretext of religion; and with others they went further, and obliged them to swear, that if they were taken by a contrary party, they should use all endeavours by night or day, even to the hazard of their lives, to leave them and inform the commanders of the king's forces, or the next magistrate, of the numbers and the strength of these on the other side.'

⁴ This appears from his letter to Queensberry of 16th June 1685, quoted below.

⁵ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 329. Wodrow also mentions the case of James Brown of 'Coulter,' whom Claverhouse condemned to death, but delayed his execution upon the intercession of the 'laird of Coulterallers.' Brown was carried 'to the English border,' Wodrow states, and eventually escaped from the Tolbooth of Selkirk. 'Coulter' I take to be

Queensberry's Drumlanrig property. In the past the district had been riddled with disaffection. Sanquhar lay between the Castle and Kirkconnel. The Enterkin lay south of it. Claverhouse found its spirit unchanged.¹ Queensberry, still in a cavilling mood, seized eagerly upon a report of Claverhouse's severity to his tenants at Sanquhar to complain to Dumbarton. 'That I had no dessein to make great search there, any body may judge,' Claverhouse wrote from Johnstone in Annandale on 16th June 1685.² 'I came not from Air till after eleven in the fornoon, and went to Bellagen with fourty heritors³ again night. The Sanquair is just in the road, and I used these men I mett accidentily on the road better then ever I used any in these circumstances, and I may saively say, that, as I shall answer to God, if they had been lieving on my ground I could not have forborn drawing my sword and knocking them down. Houever, I am glaid I have recaued my Lord Dumbarton's orders anent your Graces tenents, which I shall most punctually obey, tho I may say they wer saif as any in Scotland befor.'⁴ A

Culter, near Symington, in Lanarkshire. Wodrow states that Claverhouse, when at Dalmellington, was on his march 'from Galloway to Ayr.' The converse appears to be the fact.

¹ Claverhouse's experience during his march through this district, on which he writes to Queensberry on 16th June 1685, connects itself with a 'vouched instance' of his cruelty, according to Wodrow (vol. iv. p. 256), at the village of Closeburn, which lay on his route to Johnstone. Wodrow avers that Claverhouse visited a house there, and obtained information from the child of its tenant, a 'country man,' by shooting a pistol 'very near his head.' As the 'whole family' had had time to fly from the soldiers, of whose approach, Wodrow admits, they were warned, it is not easy to understand why the boy, of eight or nine years, should have been left behind in the house.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 293.

³ i.e. militia. Claverhouse's own regiment, or, at least, four troops of it, was under Dumbarton's command (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 82).

⁴ Elsewhere in the letter Claverhouse complains of the Earl of Annandale for disarranging his plans 'for the gaird of the Border.' 'I am unwilling to shok any body that serves the King in such a time,' he adds,

fortnight later, Argyll's rebellion having reached its abortive climax in the interval, Claverhouse wrote again, the last letter in his long and illuminating correspondence with Queensberry. The letter is dated from 'Thorleshope,' 3rd July 1685.¹ A few days later he returned to Edinburgh, where Argyll had already suffered on the old charge on which Claverhouse and his fellow-jurors had found him guilty over three years before.

Claverhouse took his seat in Council, for the first time since his readmission to it, on 16th July 1685.² With strange coincidence, Hugh Mackay of Scourie was admitted to that body a week later.³ Both men were for the moment identified with the same cause. Both had helped to stem the opening crisis of James's reign. The final catastrophe of it found Claverhouse still under the same banner, and Scourie his defeated yet victorious foe at Killiecrankie.

The remaining months of the first year of the new reign passed with little incident in Claverhouse's life.

'tho I think it not just that my lord or any other should think to exclud the rest of the forces from doing their deuty in any pairt they ar commanded too.'

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 293. The letter describes the steps he had taken to apply the movables of rebels to the maintenance of the forces, in obedience to the Council's directions.

² *Privy Council Acta* (MS.) Feb.—Dec. 1685, fol. 106. Wodrow declares (vol. iv. p. 256) that after Argyll was taken, Claverhouse 'went into Edinburgh to the council, and boasted of the mighty feats he had done in the south.' There is not a line or entry in the *Acta* to support the statement. Queensberry, to whom the royal letter readmitting Claverhouse to the Council had been delivered, was not unnaturally disinclined to communicate an honour which implied a rebuff to himself. On 1st June 1685 Moray informed him that the King was willing that Claverhouse's appointment should be made known through the Lord Chancellor 'in the ordinary way' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 73). On 20th June 1685, accordingly, the King's letter of 11th May 1685, calling Claverhouse to the Council, was registered in the Council's minutes (*Acta*, fol. 83).

³ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 341. Mackay had been summoned from Holland to confront Monmouth's rebellion lately ended at Sedgemoor.

His appearances in Council were infrequent.¹ Once only he is discovered at Dudhope.² The inference is that his military duties still claimed him, though there is no record of them. He was still anxious for permission to proceed to London to complete his justification with James.³ His desire to do so was possibly not entirely unconnected with Dalziel's imminent death. The old man died in August 1685, and Lieutenant-General William Drummond of Cromlix received the vacant command on the following 26th November.⁴ Lesser rewards marked James's regard for his restored favourite. In December 1685 he at length was granted permission to present himself at Court. Queensberry was there also, already estranged from the more daring policy which his success over Argyll and Monmouth had emboldened James to plan. Claverhouse had his advantage from the fact. On 10th December 1685 Queensberry was ordered to disgorge the sum he had exacted from Claverhouse a few months before. It amounted to £596 sterling.⁵ Perth wrote to Hamilton from London on the same day: ⁶ 'But what grates his [Queensberry's] soul the most, is that Claverhouse has gott back that monye he caused him pay when in the hight of his picque, which my brother [Melfort] has calculate so as to bear anual rent upon anual rent, and

¹ Claverhouse is on the sederunt of Council only on 16th and 20th July, 15th and 24th October, and 19th November 1685 (*Privy Council Acta*).

² On 17th November 1685 he witnesses the baptism of 'John, son of Magister Henrie Scrymgeour, Parson of Dundie, and Mrs. Jean Alexander,' at Dundee (Millar, *Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee*, p. 168).

³ Moray writes to that effect on 4th August 1685, adding that he hopes to prevent it (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 92).

⁴ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 341.

⁵ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. x. fol. 249.

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xi., pt. vi. p. 169. Fountainhall writes (*Historical Observes*, p. 240): 'To load the Hy Treasurer, Claverhouse and Balcarhouse ware sent for to London, and the King was so ill satisfied with what the Treasurer had exacted of Claveris, that he ordained the Treasurer to repay it.'

the Treasurer is to pay it upon sight of the precept.'¹ Eleven days later (21st December 1685) the style of 'His Majesty's Own Regiment of Horse' was conferred upon Claverhouse's regiment.² On Christmas Eve (24th December 1685) he arrived at Edinburgh. Perth and Balcarres returned with him.³ His restoration to royal favour was complete.

¹ In a list of fees and pensions granted and signed at Whitehall, 31st October 1685, 'with additional persons since,' Claverhouse's name appears (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, Feb. 1689—April 1690, p. 384).

² *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. x. fol. 285.

³ Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 154.

CHAPTER XI

PROVOST OF DUNDEE

FROM his return to Scotland in December 1685 to the autumn campaign of 1688 in England, there is a lengthy gap in the record of Claverhouse's life which his biographer can barely fill.¹ The fact proclaims it the single domestic interlude of considerable duration in his strenuous life. He is traceable occasionally in Council. He pays a short visit to England, and seemingly introduces his wife to her sovereign. But mainly he is discernible at Dudhope, the seat of his authority as Constable and—a jurisdiction added within the period—Provost of Dundee.

The overthrow of Argyll and Monmouth tempted James to embark on a policy in favour of his co-religionists which might be deemed praiseworthy if a broad spirit of toleration could be read into it. Some there were, like Perth, who hastened to ingratiate themselves with the King by embracing the King's religion. Claverhouse found loyalty to his sovereign not incompatible with loyalty to the religion which he had been taught to profess. 'I am as much concerned in the protestant religion as any man,' he assured Cluny Macpherson, when the Clans were up in 1689, 'and will doe my indevors to

¹ Napier, for instance, records only three incidents in Claverhouse's life in this period—a single appearance in Council, his appointment to the Provostship of Dundee, and his promotion as major-general.

see it secured.'¹ As the King's policy progressed, he found himself strongly opposed to the wisdom of it, but equally assured that the King's advisers rather than the King himself were responsible for the error of it. Melfort he regarded as James's Buckingham. He wrote candidly to him a few weeks before Killiecrankie: 'You know what the Church of England is in England; and, both there and here, they generally say that the King of himself is not disposed to push matters of religion, or force people to do things they scrupled in conscience; but that you, to gain favour with these of that religion, had proved and prevailed with him, contrary to his inclination, to do what he did, which has given his enemies occasion to destroy him and the monarchy.' 'I am obliged to tell you,' he added, 'that if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithstanding of all the foreign aid, a long war.'² The letter clearly marks his aloofness from a policy whose catastrophe found him still loyal though disapproving. His attitude towards it is hinted in Perth's reluctant admission to the Cardinal of Norfolk: 'Others here would have us believe they are our friends, who really are our more dangerous enemies, especially some in the army, the hundredth man in which is not a Catholic, and we have scarce any officers of that persuasion.'³

An incident in Council on 16th February 1686 expresses the spirit of the new *régime* and the measure of Claverhouse's acquiescence in it. A sermon had lately been preached in the High Kirk, Edinburgh, by the Rev. James Canaries, D.D., minister of Selkirk. The character

¹ *Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle*, ed. Alexander Macpherson, No. 2, p. 21.

² Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 361. The letter is dated 27th June 1689.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Stuart Papers*, vol. i. p. 30. The letter is dated 3rd Feb. 1688.

of it is sufficiently suggested by its title—*Rome's Additions to Christianity, shewn to be inconsistent with the true design of so spiritual a religion*.¹ If, as Fountainhall declares, its author was 'lately Popish,' his public denunciation of the religion he had abjured would attract the greater attention. The publication of the sermon attests its popularity. At the meeting of Privy Council on 16th February, Perth called attention to it as a 'seditious sermon.' Canaries, so Fountainhall declares, had 'given his opinion freely against Popery, that no man without renouncing his sence and reason can imbrace sundry of ther articles.' To disagree with the principles of the Church of Rome was one thing. To publicly denounce it as a religion credible only by renunciation of sense and reason was tantamount to an assertion that James, who publicly professed it, was devoid of either. The muzzling of the pulpit was, after all, one of the many consequences which the incongruous association of a Roman Catholic sovereign with a rigidly Protestant constitution entailed. Claverhouse was perhaps barely conscious of the incongruity, but an open attack upon the King's religion was to him intolerable in its savour of disloyalty. He therefore added his word to Perth's in favour of condemnation. The proposal was received, however, in 'deep silence,' and was for the moment withdrawn. Canaries was ultimately suspended.²

In the new trend of the King's policy in Scotland Queensberry, by virtue of his antagonism to it and of his high position, was an obstacle to be removed. He had returned deeply chagrined from his visit to Court on 29th December 1685.³ A week after the Canaries episode

¹ A copy of it is in the British Museum. It was published at Edinburgh in 1686.

² Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 708.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 688.

(23rd February 1686) he received a polite but emphatic letter of dismissal from James. The King announced his intention to put the Treasury into Commission, and to give the Duke of Gordon, a Roman Catholic, the command of the Castle of Edinburgh. 'Nothing but my being satisfied,' the King assured him, 'upon long and mature consideration, that it is absolutely necessary for the good of my service' could have induced James to take such a step. That 'the world' might see that he acted upon no other motive, James appointed Queensberry to the Presidency of the Council, placed him upon the Commission of the Treasury, and continued him on the Secret Committee of the Council.¹ Queensberry's bitterness was augmented by the fact that upon the new Commission of the Treasury he had Claverhouse as a colleague.²

Meanwhile the cry of 'No Popery' gathered increasing strength. In January 1686 the Countess of Perth was insulted by a baker's boy on her way from Mass in Edinburgh. The boy was sentenced, and a riot ensued.³ Canaries' public protest had followed. Hard on the heels of it, Sir Robert Sibbald, a convert to Roman Catholicism and, as the populace judged, the agent in Perth's conversion, received the unwelcome attention of 'the Rable.' His room was broken into and searched by a band of eager Protestants, who threatened to 'Rathillet' him—an expressive phrase! The timely appearance of Lieutenant-General Drummond and Claverhouse in the former's coach, in which they conveyed him to the shelter of

¹ Quoted in Napier, vol. iii. p. 468. The King's letter appointing the Duke of Gordon Captain and Constable of Edinburgh Castle was read in Council on 11th March 1686, when Gordon was 'admitted without any oath, being a Papist' (Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 713).

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* x., pt. i. p. 95. The warrant was dated 27th March 1686, and was signed the following 14th May.

³ Napier, vol. iii. p. 467.

Holyrood, saved Sir Robert from an awkward predicament.¹ On 4th March 1686 the Council approved an extended report of 'the late Rable against the mass' for submission to the King. Fountainhall hints an underlying intrigue, whose motive was 'to load Collonel Douglas, Queensberry's brother, as negligent, and to get admirable Grame of Claverhouse in his place.'² If such was its object the intrigue failed in result. Not until 20th September 1686 did Claverhouse receive an augmentation of his military rank. On that date he was commissioned major-general on the Scottish establishment,³ and was granted a pension of £200 sterling yearly 'during pleasure.'⁴ Only eight years before, almost to a day, he had received his commission as captain!

For the next few months, while James's philo-Catholic policy ran its course,⁵ Claverhouse is traceable mainly at Dudhope. A curious minute of 7th October 1686 presents him a considerable claimant upon the accommodation of Dundee's Church. 'The Provost, baillies, and counsell of the said burgh,' the minute runs, 'haveing formerly at Major-Generall John Grahame of Claverhouse,

¹ Maidment, *Analecta Scotica*, first series, p. 153.

² Fountainhall, *Chronological Notes*, p. 166. Fountainhall records an assault by Graham of Duntrune, whom he describes as Claverhouse's chamberlain, upon a neighbour whose corn he had trodden down while hunting. Duntrune was ordered to be imprisoned on 22nd June 1686, but was soon after liberated (*ibid.*, pp. 186, 187).

³ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xi. fol. 340. The original commission is among the *Duntrune MSS.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. xi. fol. 341. The docquet of the warrant for the pension is dated 20th September 1686.

⁵ Fountainhall (*Chronological Notes*, p. 202) mentions the arrival on 23rd November 1686 of a 'yacht' at Leith, 'with a Popish Altar, Vestments, etc., for the Popish Chappel in the Abbey.' On 30th November 1686 the Abbey chapel was consecrated (*ibid.*, p. 202), and on 12th July 1687 it was claimed by James 'as the chapell belonging to his palace,' though it was counter-claimed as the 'mensall and patrimonial church of the Bishoprick of Edinburgh.' This, adds Fountainhall, was 'the first Protestant church taken away from us, and was also the last' (*ibid.*, p. 221).

constable of Dundee, his desyre, by their Act of Counsell granted him the use of the first two pewes of the gildries seat in the old Church, And now finding the same not sufficient to accomodat his familie, desyres he may lyke-ways have the use of the thrid pew yrof, which the Counsell hes also granted him. And if he desyres to have it any wayes altered or changed, they ordaine the Deane of Gild to causs doe the same on the gildries expensis.¹ Claverhouse's establishment must have been considerable. For the next four months the record of him is blank, or almost so.² His interests clearly centred upon Dudhope and his Constablenesship. On 12th February 1687 the sum of two thousand merks *Scots* was assigned to him, levied upon a tax upon 'Ale, Beer, French and Spanish Wines, in favour of the Burgh of Dundee.'³ In the following June Fotheringham of Powrie involved him in a lawsuit, in which he averred that as Constable and Chief Magistrate of Dundee, Claverhouse had discharged 'the Fischers in the mercat' of Dundee, as well as his own tenants, from paying the toll which Powrie claimed from fishing-boats gathering bait, or anchoring at, or passing by Broughty Castle.⁴ His appointment as First Magistrate of Dundee, with the royal injunction to accord him 'the precedency and first Honours . . . befor the Provost,' strengthened Claverhouse's control of the local jurisdiction.⁵

¹ *MS. Minutes of the Town Council of Dundee*. I owe this transcript to Mr. A. H. Millar's kindness.

² On 8th November 1686 Fountainhall (*Chronological Notes*, p. 198) mentions him upon an inquest which established 'Madam Brisbane' as 'heir of line and tailzie' to her nephew, Lord Napier. A few days earlier (4th November 1686) Claverhouse, as owner of the forfeited estate of French, was the pursuer in an action for the recovery of a debt due to it (Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 757).

³ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xi. fol. 614.

⁴ The case is reported in Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. pp. 798, 811.

⁵ *Charters, Writs, and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee*,

Meanwhile matters of larger import had claimed Claverhouse's attention. James had been compelled to face the fact that toleration for his co-religionists was impracticable unless it were conjoined with a similar offer of liberty to those, equally aloof from the Establishment, whom his policy had aimed at repressing. A comprehensive measure of toleration, so James unadvisedly believed, would in Scotland as in England bribe the Protestant stalwarts into interested acquiescence. The policy is an ample example of undiscerning opportunism. In Scotland it had its adherents, Claverhouse among them. The fact proclaims his undeviating and narrow allegiance to the standards of Cavalier loyalism which the Revolution rudely disturbed. On 18th February 1687 James's proclamation of Toleration was published at Edinburgh. On the following 24th February Claverhouse, among other members of Council, signified to the King his approval of it.¹

In the summer of 1687 Claverhouse paid his penultimate visit to England. The fact that Balcarres accompanied him, and Fountainhall's record of the circumstance,² mark the business which called him thither of a public nature. He set out from Edinburgh on 27th June, and his wife, seemingly, accompanied him. They returned to Scotland late in the following November. George Foulis Primrose of Dunipace, on his way to London, came across them on the road. His account-book bears the mysterious entry: 'Item—to the lady Clevers for lace.'³ The capture

p. 109. The Act of Privy Council, dated 17th June 1686, proceeded upon a royal letter, dated 19th March 1686. The letter enjoined, 'That in all time comeing the Constable of Dundee, and his successours in that office, be the first Magistrat of the said Burgh.'

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 420, 423. The Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Dundonald and Panmure refused to sign the Council's letter.

² *Chronological Notes*, p. 217.

³ John C. Gibson, *The Lands and Lairds of Dunipace*, p. 27. The entry is under the date 25th November 1687. On 21st November 1687 his account-book notes: 'Item—for dyet night before cleverhous cam up.'

of James Renwick, the last of the Cameronian leaders, followed shortly upon Claverhouse's return from England. On 8th February 1688 he was indicted for denial of the King's authority, for preaching that it was unlawful to pay cess to the King, and for summoning his hearers to come armed to conventicles. Claverhouse was cited as a witness against him. On 17th February 1688 he was executed.¹

Claverhouse's visit to London bore fruit in the following spring. The muzzling of the Corporations in times of crisis was a measure of precaution peculiar to neither political party. Claverhouse, already Constable, was to exercise in another office that control over the Burgh of Dundee which the King's provocative policy entailed. On 15th March 1688 a royal letter was read in Privy Council notifying his appointment as Provost of Dundee. Balcarres was ordered to instal him.² The King's letter was acted upon without delay. On 27th March 1688 Balcarres presented it to the Town Council of Dundee, and Claverhouse was formally installed as Provost.³ It is among the fictions of local history that his tenure of the Constableness was marked by excessive harshness, and that a similar exercise of his functions as Provost made Dundee a rallying-point for his opponents in 1689.⁴ Between the municipality of Dundee and the Constable there was indeed traditional jealousy, but there is not a

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 446, 448, 452.

² Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 360. It may be noted that in his *Chronological Notes* (p. 250) Fountainhall dates the receipt of the King's letter as 13th March 1688.

In the *Privy Seal, English Register* (vol. iv. fol. 272) the gift to Claverhouse is registered, 16th March 1688, of the ship called the *James* of Dundee, which had fallen to the King 'through the said ship her being built in Gottenberry and nocht in our kingdom of Scotland,' and 'being fraughted with unfree merchant goods and wairs.'

³ *MS. Minutes of the Town Council of Dundee*.

⁴ See *Charters, Writs, and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee*, p. 108.

tittle of evidence that Claverhouse aggravated it. As Provost he took a small part, though greater than has been supposed, in the affairs of the municipality. In all he presided over the meetings of its Council on seven occasions within a period of eleven months.¹

Wodrow essays to prove that Claverhouse's administration as Constable or Provost of Dundee was in harsh contravention of the recent grant of toleration. 'Though a liberty was granted to presbyterians,' he writes,² 'yet in many places all methods were taken to hinder the benefit of it. I have some instances of this in the town of Dundee, where Claverhouse was either provost, or assumed to himself the chief management of that town.' But the instances cited by Wodrow fail to support his accusation. The first case is that of Alexander Auchmoutie. Late in 1687, or early in 1688, Claverhouse is alleged to have 'forcibly stopped' him from preaching in Dundee, 'upon pretext that his name was not given up to the magistrates.' Wodrow avers that that had been done, and yet, 'Next Lord's day, when Mr Auchmoutie was preaching, Claverhouse forced five of the townsmen presently to give bond, under the penalty of five thousand merks, to produce Mr Auchmoutie before the privy council; which they did.' In the result, Wodrow declares, Auchmoutie 'was decerned to preach no more at Dundee, without any reason given, and directly contrary to the proclamation for liberty.'³ Wodrow is ingenuous. If, as he declares, Auchmoutie's name and the place he designed to preach in had been notified to the authorities, his position was

¹ The MS. Minutes of the Town Council show that Claverhouse, having been installed on 27th March 1688, presided as Provost on the following 29th and 31st March, 9th April, 9th August, and 4th September. There ensued a long interval, during which Claverhouse was campaigning in England. On his return to Scotland he presided as Provost on 24th and 27th February 1689.

² Vol. iv. p. 455.

³ Vol. iv. p. 455.

correct. But the edict of Toleration required a further assurance, 'that nothing be preached or taught among them, which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our government.' On this point Wodrow is significantly silent. His second case shows Claverhouse's alleged victim a suspected contravener of the condition. Auchmoutie may certainly be regarded as equally so.

Wodrow's second illustration of Claverhouse's high-handedness at Dundee is the case of Alexander Orrock. He had preached at Dundee on two occasions in the year 1688, and Claverhouse, 'resolving to be rid of him, prevailed with two persons' to give information to the magistrates, that Orrock had called the King an idolater. Wodrow avers that had Orrock's hearers been called, 'they would have with one mouth declared' that Orrock had merely uttered the prayer, 'That the Lord would purge the king from heart idols.' The fact that he was inhibited by the Privy Council from preaching in Dundee only, is proof that the most sinister interpretation of his prayer was not pressed against him. So far as Claverhouse is concerned, the incident merely presents him as careful to insist that the bargain was held to, which gave toleration to the Presbyterians in the exercise of their religion in return for their equal toleration of the King's.

The third instance mentioned by Wodrow is the case of Thomas Cobham. In May 1688 he had come to Dundee. He lodged with a cousin, in whose house he conducted family worship. He was charged with holding a conventicle without proper notice, and on 23rd May he was apprehended and brought before the senior Bailie and acting Provost.¹ Upon his assurance that he had done no more than conduct family prayers, he was released on bail. The following day, however, the four Bailies of the

¹ Wodrow calls him James Mein. His name was James Man.

town met, and found the information laid against Cobham to be 'false.' His bail was returned, and upon the legal notification being given, he was allowed to preach. He did so on the following Sunday. On the Saturday thereafter he was again summoned before the magistrates, who required him to give bail before permission to preach could be accorded him. Upon his refusal to do so he was sent to prison. On 19th June 1688 bail was at length offered. The magistrates refused to accept it, and on 2nd July 1688 the Treasurer and officers of the town conducted Cobham to Fife, 'where Claverhouse had ordered six troopers to receive him,' who 'guarded him into Edinburgh.' He was brought before the Council, and 'when nothing appeared against him,' says Wodrow, 'he was liberate.'¹ In regard to Cobham, it is only necessary to point out that the proceedings of the magistrates at Dundee took place in Claverhouse's absence. Between 9th April and 9th August 1688 his name is not found on the sederunt of the Town Council. That body, on 12th May 1688, expressly held over a matter of importance 'till the provost come home.' He was still absent a fortnight later, when the senior Bailie presided in his place. In other words, Claverhouse's connection with this particular illustration of his alleged resolve to override the conditions of Toleration, amounts to the furnishing of an escort for a prisoner whom, in his absence, the town's competent authorities had judged worthy of examination at Edinburgh, where Claverhouse then was.

The absence of Claverhouse from Dudhope in May and

¹ It may be inferred that if the evidence against Cobham was at all damning, Claverhouse's influence could have secured at least a moderate condemnation, such as that meted out to Orrock. Fountainhall (*Chronological Notes*, p. 259) mentions a case in June 1688 in which Claverhouse's influence is said to have secured a verdict for his brother-in-law, the Earl of Dundonald, in a suit between him and the magistrates of Paisley, at that time before the Council.

June 1688 is amply explained by the character of the public duties entrusted to him at that time. On 4th May his appointment upon the Commission of the Treasury was continued for another year.¹ He was present in Privy Council on 15th May when the King's so-called Fourth Indulgence was received and ordered to be proclaimed.² Ten days later (26th May) he was appointed to act upon a Council of Trade 'for considering and regulating all matters and things relating to the improvement and advancement of the Trade and Commerce' of Scotland.³ On the following 14th June, upon the birth of James's son, the 'old Mr. Melancholy' of a later day, Claverhouse was among the members of Council who ordained an Act of Thanksgiving for 'so extraordinary a mercy' as the birth of 'this hopeful prince.'⁴ That event, promising as it did to perpetuate a system detestable to both nations, focussed the minds of both upon instant overthrow of it. In Edinburgh increasing murmurs negatived the Council's official thanksgiving, and Claverhouse and Douglas, says Wodrow, conducted 'a most violent search.'⁵ In September 1688 the storm, long threatened, burst. Claverhouse had barely returned to Dudhope,⁶ early in the month, before the summons came to the last warfare of his life, whose end was Killiecrankie.

¹ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 3.

² Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 441.

³ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 104.

⁴ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 441.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 462.

⁶ He presided at the meeting of the Town Council of Dundee on 4th September 1688 (*MS. Minutes*).

CHAPTER XII

VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE

UPON the threshold of the Revolution, 'that adorable and never-to-be-forgotten step of divine providence,' as Wodrow terms it,¹ the authorities in Scotland were inclined to adopt defensive rather than aggressive tactics; to maintain the home army to overawe Scotland rather than to adventure it upon an English campaign. Nearly fifty years before, old Alexander Leslie had faced a similar crisis when, in 1645, with Montrose in his rear, and in spite of the urgent call of his ally, he was diffident to advance his army far from the point where Scotland's particular interests most imperatively demanded its presence. His reluctant participation in the English campaign had involved Scotland in a danger which was tardily surmounted at Philiphaugh.² When the catastrophe of the Revolution was complete, and James a self-doomed exile, the despatch of the Scottish forces to England in 1688 was pointed to as a decisive error of judgment. Balcarres gave the criticism,³ but his authority, one may believe, was Claverhouse himself. So much may be said. The despatch of the Scottish establishment availed not one whit to stem William's advance from the West. And had that force been retained in Scotland, Claverhouse would have had at his disposal something more than the handful of troopers who rode with him

¹ Vol. iv. p. 463.

² See my *Life of Alexander Leslie*, chap. ix. *passim*.

³ See below, p. 234.

from England, to stiffen the Clans in the final bout at Killiecrankie.

Rumours of William's preparations in Holland led the Scottish Council to publish (18th September 1688) a proclamation calling out the militia of Edinburgh, the Lothians, Fife and Kinross, Forfar and the Merse, and ordering the preparation of the customary beacons, to be fired 'how soon they see any considerable number of ships appearing on the coasts of this kingdom.'¹ A few days later a royal letter² reached the Council regarding the disposal of the standing forces of the kingdom: 'Whereas it imports our Service much, that our Standing forces of that Kingdome lie in as narrow a Compass, and as near the Borders of England as they can conveniently lie, Wee have thought fit to require you forthwith to bring all our Standing Forces into the Louthians and Marches that they may be ready to receive such further Orders as Wee shall think fit to send to them from time to time. The Garrisons are to remaine as they now are. And that Wee may have a further fforce in case of necessity, you are immediately to raise the Militia, of which you are to draw out one third part of the best, and to keep them together about Stirling and the adjacent places.'

The King's letter had barely reached Scotland before another and more urgent order was despatched: 'Whereas Wee have certain information,' it ran,³ 'that the vast preparations they are making in Holland are intended to invade in a hostile manner this our Kingdome of England, Wee have thought fit to order and require you immediatly upon the sight hereof to order and command all our Standing fforces of that our ancient Kingdome, excepting

¹ See the proclamation in Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 463.

² *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 243. The letter is dated 24th September 1688.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xiii. fol. 284. It is dated 27th September 1688, and is countersigned by Melfort.

the ordinary Garrisons of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dunbarton Castles, to march to Carlisle in our Kingdome of England, and from thence to Chester with all the convenient diligence that is possible, and that if any Parties of ffoot be distant from the Body of our Army, you are to order them to be mounted by the Country upon Horsback from Shire to Shire till they shall arrive at that place upon the Border in the way to Carlisle which you shall judge most convenient for the generall Rendezvous of all our said fforces.¹

The Council hastened to fulfil the urgent orders from Whitehall. On 28th September a proclamation was put forth announcing William's anticipated invasion. On 1st October an order was issued forbidding any to leave the kingdom without licence. The militia was called out two days later (3rd October).² But the King's latest instruction, commanding the despatch of the standing forces to England, had the Council's reluctant sanction. It was 'the unanimous advice' of that body, Balcarres averred at a later period, that the Scottish forces should be moved to the Border, or at furthest to the north of England. Instead of following that advice, he asserted, 'the Earl of M[elfor]t wrote down an Order, not subscribed by your Majesty, but only in your Majesty's Name, ordering, That the Army should immediately March, and that if any of your Servants were afraid to stay behind, they might go along with the Army.' 'With a sorrowful Heart,' he con-

¹ On the same date orders were issued for the removal of the magazine from Edinburgh to Stirling Castle, and for the officers of Dunmore's regiment to rejoin their commands. On 1st October 1688 James Cathcart of Carbiestoun was commissioned Chief Commissary of Musters, and on the same date joint instructions were issued to him and Andrew Middleton of Pitgarvie, Muster Master General (*ibid.*, vol. xiii. fol. 285, 287, 288, 289).

² The three proclamations are in the Register House MS. *Warrant Book*. The *Warrant Book* elsewhere quoted in these pages is in the Record Office. The militia proclamation of 3rd October 1688 is printed by Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 466.

cludes, 'your Majesty's Orders were obeyed, for the Consequences were too evident.'¹ Whatever was the strength of the Council's forebodings, it acquiesced in the King's commands, and on 3rd October 1688 informed him that the army had already commenced its march, with 'Pay for the Month of October instant out of Your Majesties Thesaurry.' The letter had Claverhouse's signature.²

Early in the first week of October 1688 the Scottish force began its march to Carlisle. In number it was under three thousand—one thousand nine hundred and ninety-five foot; eight hundred and forty-one cavalry. The infantry comprised two regiments—Douglas's Foot Guards, now the Scots Guards, and Colonel Thomas Buchan's regiment, now the Twenty-first of the Line (Royal Scots Fusiliers). The cavalry included Lord George Livingstone's troop of Life Guards, Claverhouse's regiment, three hundred and fifty-seven strong, and the Earl of Dunmore's regiment of dragoons, now known as the Scots Greys.³ Douglas, as lieutenant-general, was in command.

Marching in dirty weather, Douglas reached Moffat late on 6th October 1688. An express from Carlisle had brought him orders to march to Preston, along the oft-trodden Jacobite route, and there to await orders. His

¹ Colin, Earl of Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late King James II. when in France* (Lond. 1714), p. 29. Balcarres, Tarbat, and James's other agents in Scotland had, in fact, concerted a plan which would have concentrated the regular army at York, and thereby have secured both Scotland and the north of England. The scheme is alleged to have been quashed by Melfort. See Lord Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. p. 157.

² *The London Gazette*, 4th-8th October 1688.

³ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. ii. p. 210. The Earl of Dunmore, already mentioned in these pages as Lord Charles Murray, had succeeded to the command of the Scots Greys upon the death of Dalziel. In most accounts Colonel John Wauchope's regiment is inaccurately given as accompanying Douglas into England. His regiment was in French pay, and had nothing to do with the Scottish establishment. For its *personnel* see Dalton, vol. ii. p. 153.

ammunition-train, so far, had not arrived,¹ and his advance was possibly delayed.² Four days later (10th October) he was within a day's march of Penrith, and received new and disconcerting orders. 'I'm now in haste going from this place,' he wrote to his brother,³ 'having just now got orders to send all the horse and dragoons to York, which accordingly I do by Major-General Graham. I march myself with the foot there, as Dumbarton writes to me; but the King's letter mentions not that I go any farther than Preston. How to reconcile the orders I know not; but be as it will, I shall do my best; though I never did see this practised before, to send away all the horse, and leave two regiments of foot⁴ open to the insults of foreigners, who are expected to land horse and dragoons.' The next morning (11th October) the cavalry, under Claverhouse's command, marched for York. 'He will be there speedily,' Douglas informed Queensberry,⁵ 'and if there be anything ado, I fancy to have share among the first.' He had not yet gauged the weakness of James's cause, and his loyalty was still sound. Before the end of the month Claverhouse and Douglas, with the troops under their command, were quartered in and round the capital.⁶

¹ Douglas to Queensberry, 7th October 1688, in Napier, vol. iii. p. 475.

² Creighton's chronology of the march (*Swift's Works*, ed. Scott, vol. x. p. 166) is not reliable. The army, according to his account, crossed the Tweed on 1st October, and marched from Carlisle on 2nd October. Claverhouse marched from Carlisle to York on that date, he declares, and reached York on 6th or 7th October. He accuses Douglas of making a slow advance 'on purpose that the prince of Orange might land before the king's forces should grow strong enough to oppose him.' The accusation is probably founded upon Douglas's later conduct.

³ Douglas to Queensberry, 10th October 1688, in Napier, vol. iii. p. 476. The letter is dated from 'Aleson Bank.'

⁴ This may be noted in further disproof of the statement, generally made, that a third regiment, Wauchope's, was with Douglas.

⁵ Douglas to Queensberry, 11th October 1688, in Napier, vol. iii. p. 476. The letter is dated from Penrith.

⁶ According to Creighton (*Swift's Works*, vol. x. p. 167), they reached

Meanwhile William's fleet was under weigh. One of England's monotonously opportune 'Protestant winds' carried the fleet in safety down the Channel early in the first week of November. On the 5th William landed in Torbay. Mackay and the Scots Brigade were with him.¹ The Scottish Privy Council was informed on the same day (5th November) of the appearance of the Dutch fleet on the coast, with the comforting assurance that the troops which it carried were not numerous.²

It was in the very crisis of James's fate that Claverhouse had the crowning reward of loyalty whose most zealous service was yet to come. His arrival in London with his regiment had brought him once more into the circle of a Court whose dependents were sitting loosely, adaptable to the event of the crisis. One misreads Claverhouse's character strangely if his presence failed to bring a breath of resolution into that doubt-weighted atmosphere. Diffidence, when his interests were at stake, was not in his character, but the occasion was barely opportune for the pressing of reward. The timing of it may stand to the credit of the King who conferred it. On 12th November 1688 Claverhouse was raised to the Scottish peerage by the title Viscount of Dundee and Lord Graham of Claverhouse. The warrant ordaining the issue of letters patent tersely but adequately founded his peerage upon 'the many good and eminent Services rendered both to his Majesty and his dearest Royall Brother King Charles the Second (of ever blessed memory) by his right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Major Generall John Graham of

London about 25th October, which seems a reasonable date. They were certainly there before 1st November, on which date they received their marching orders. Claverhouse's regiment was then quartered with Livingstone's Life Guards at Westminster, the Tower Hamlets, and Minorities (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. ii. p. 210).

¹ Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 566.

² *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 326.

Claverhouse in the severall Offices and Stations of publick Trust as well civill as military in which he has been employed for many years past; Together with his constant Loyalty and firm adherence (upon all occasions) to the true interests of the Crown.'¹ The 'true interests' of the Crown! and James was on the brink of irredeemable exile.

William, meanwhile, remained inactive at Exeter. James's army took position at Salisbury, barring the road to the capital. The Scottish regiments, which had received their marching orders on 1st November, joined it there. On the 17th James left London to direct the timorous campaign.² He reached Salisbury two days later (19th November) and took up his quarters in the Bishop's Palace.³ The sequel is familiar: a melting army; its officers secretly intriguing with, and now openly joining the enemy. With increasing encouragement William marched from Exeter. His advanced guard was already at Wincanton, when James, irresolute and desponding, withdrew himself from Salisbury out of danger. On 25th November his army fell back upon

¹ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 345. The original patent is among the *Duntrune MSS.* Upon the back of it is written: 'Sealed at Edinburgh the Nynteint day of November 1688.' It styles Claverhouse 'Vicecomes de Dundie et Dominus Grahame de Claverhouse.' The peerage was conferred upon him with remainder to the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to his other heirs male. After his death his title was forfeited, but his titular honour passed to his son, and then to his brother David, after whose death, *circa* 1700, it passed to the Duntrune branch of the family. Inasmuch as the exiled Jacobite Court did not recognise the *de facto* Government in England, or the lapse of titles declared forfeit by it, it is the more extraordinary to find James III., on 25th January 1706, informing Giovanni Battista Gualterio of his creation as Earl of Dundee (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Stuart Papers*, vol. i. p. 204. See *ibid.*, p. xciii., Introduction). Less curiously, the idea of the title as a Whig creation seems to have been mooted. At Edinburgh, on 15th March 1690, it was rumoured that Lieutenant-General Douglas, Claverhouse's old rival, was created Earl of Dundee (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland*, No. 95, p. 208).

² *The London Gazette*, No. 2401.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 2402.

Reading.¹ On the following day (26th November), the *Gazette* announced, the King's return to Whitehall 'in perfect Health.'²

With dismay Dundee had watched James's futile warfare, and the treachery which contributed to make it so. Keeping the Scottish cavalry in a body, he marched them to Reading to await further orders.³ If an early tradition may be believed, he already despaired of success in England under existing conditions. He advised the King, the army chaplain Morer writes, to adopt one of three alternatives—to give William battle, to see him personally, or 'to make his way into Scotland, upon the Coldness he observed in the English Army and Nation.'⁴ But James was in no mood for hazardous experiments. Upon 8th December, an alarm of William's advance from Salisbury caused Feversham to retire from Reading to Twyford.⁵ On the following day (9th December) the Queen and infant Prince were sent to France and safety.⁶ James was already resolved upon a similar course. On the 10th he sent Feversham word of his determination to leave the kingdom, and bade him disband the army.⁷ Feversham

¹ *The History of the Desertion*, by 'a Person of Quality' (Lond. 1689), p. 82. James's explanation of his retreat is, that some of his troops had not yet come up, among them, Dunmore's dragoons (*Life of James the Second*, ed. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 222).

² *The London Gazette*, No. 2405. It announced also that 'a Post will go and come every day between London and Reading till farther Order.'

³ Creighton (*Swift's Works*, vol. x. p. 168) says that the Duke of Berwick's regiment was also placed under his orders.

⁴ *A Short Account of Scotland* (Lond. 1702), p. 96. Morer adds the less credible statement, that in England, Dundee 'was like to have commanded as Eldest Major-General, but that the English Officers with the same Commissions would not bear it.'

⁵ *History of the Desertion*, p. 85.

⁶ *Life of James the Second*, ed. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 246. The party included the Queen, the Prince and his nurse, and 'two or three persons more.' The statement in the *Grameid* (p. 43) that James committed the care of his wife and child to Dundee is not accurate.

⁷ *Life of James the Second*, ed. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 250.

obeyed his instructions forthwith (11th December).¹ In the small-hours of the same morning (11th December) James furtively crossed the Thames to Vauxhall, on his way to the coast.²

James's flight was the sorry climax to an adventure which had drawn the Scottish regiments many days' march from their Borders to take part in a *fiasco*. With the evaporation of Feversham's army, Dundee led the cavalry under his command to Watford, north of London and off the line of William's advance, to await events.³ Thence he repaired to London. Two months before, when the Scottish forces were drawn to England, James had formed an inner Committee of the Scottish Council, to 'meet secretly to discourse and treat of such Affairs as cannot conveniently be digested amongst a great number.' Perth, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Atholl, Balcarres, and Tarbat were placed upon it.⁴ Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath was added to it a few days later.⁵ Letters, seemingly from one or other of them, had followed Dundee to England, representing in hopeless tones the state of the King's interest in the sister kingdom. 'Our forses here' [Scotland], wrote one, 'will doe use noe good, not that they are not better leit thean could be expected, but

¹ *History of the Desertion*, p. 98.

² *Life of James the Second*, ed. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 251. James states that he had no one with him but Sir Edward Hales, the latter's Quartermaster, and a guide.

³ This is the one credible fact which emerges from Creighton's account (*Swift's Works*, vol. x. p. 169). His story, dictated years afterwards, and furnished by Swift, presents him a trusted emissary of Dundee and the other commanders, who, he declares, learned through him Feversham's intention to disband. His story of Dundee, Livingstone, and Dumbarton 'falling into tears' at the news rests upon a similar plane of improbability. On the other hand, his assertion that William sent orders to Dundee to remain at Watford, with the assurance that 'upon my honour none in my army shall touch you,' is probable.

⁴ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 299. Their appointment is dated 6th October 1688.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 306. His appointment is dated 18th October 1688.

their hearts are not with use, and wee have noe officers.' 'Signior,' a second opened curiously, 'I alwyse fortold that the King and his ministers wold ruine them selvs for hoping to gaine a securitie which was worth the trusting to. . . . For God's sake entreat L. Melfort at last to know his friends from his enimies, at least from neuters. I wonder wee trust our militia or gentry, for both will faile us and turn in great numbers, and the countrey is so picout at the expence and trouble that they will reveng themselvs that way.'¹

So soon as James's flight was known, Balcarres, the agent of the Secret Committee, hastened to convene 'the managers of the Episcopal party.' He had arrived in the capital on 11th or 12th December, and 'hearing the unhappy News' of the King's flight, thought it 'reasonable to desire the Advice of all other Councillors who were there.' The meeting took place on the 13th. Dundee was present. Hamilton, whose defection was 'suspected and imminent, lent his 'lodgings' for the conference. What passed at it is briefly reported. Hamilton demanded the production of the letter to James from the Secret Committee, of which Balcarres was the bearer. Balcarres refused, shrewdly gauging Hamilton's motive in requiring it. High words passed. Hamilton lost his temper, and Dundee, seemingly, bore the brunt of it.² Three days later the situation unexpectedly changed. James's attempt to escape had been balked when success seemed within his grasp. With discreet and official reticence the *Gazette* announced: 'Whitehall, Decemb. 16. His Majesty returned hither this Evening in very good Health.'³

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xi., pt. vii. p. 23. Both letters are in a parcel of Scottish letters 'taken at York.' Neither is signed nor dated.

² Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 50.

³ *The London Gazette*, No. 2410. The 16th December was a Sunday. James returned to Whitehall 'about Five in the Evening' (*History of the Desertion*, p. 100).

Upon the morrow (17th December) of the King's return, Balcarres and Dundee hastened to Whitehall to seek an audience.¹ An officer who joined them informed the King 'that most of his generals and colonels of his guards' had met that morning and had commissioned him to assure the King that it was not too late to strike an effective blow for him. The army, though disbanded, was in or round London, and 'if he would order them to beat their drums, they were confident twenty thousand men could be got together before the end of next day.' James gauged the position more accurately. 'My Lord,' he replied, 'I know you to be my friend, sincere and honourable; the men who sent you are not so, and I expect nothing from them.' He invited Dundee and Balcarres to walk, and they passed out with him into the Mall. How came it, he asked bitterly, that they, unlike the rest, had not forsaken him? Balcarres protested his enduring loyalty. Dundee 'made the strongest professions of duty.' 'I see you are the men I always took you to be,' James rejoined; 'you shall know all my intentions. I can no longer remain here but as a cipher, or be a prisoner to the Prince of Orange, and you know there is but a small distance between the prisons and the graves of kings; therefore I go for France immediately; when there, you shall have my instructions—you, Lord Balcarres, shall have a commission to manage my civil affairs, and you, Lord Dundee, to command my troops in Scotland.'²

¹ According to Creighton (*Swift's Works*, vol. x. p. 170), news of James's return to Whitehall reached Watford about two hours before that event had taken place! Apart from that slip, his statement that Dundee rode up at once to London from Watford is very improbable. I imagine rather, that between the 13th and 16th he was in close consultation with the party managers in London. Macaulay, it may be noted, accepts Creighton as a trustworthy authority upon Dundee's movements at this crisis.

² This account is taken from the MS. memoirs of Balcarres's son, James,

Almost at the moment when James was conversing with Balcarres and Dundee, William of Orange arrived (17th December) at Zion House, the guest of the Countess of Northumberland.¹ His movements were shrewdly timed. James's voluntary withdrawal was the stake he played for, and he won it. Early on the 18th James left Whitehall for ever, and proceeded down the river towards Rochester 'in his own Barge, attended by the Earl of Arran, and some few others.'² About noon on the same day William rode to St. James's, and took up his quarters in the Palace.³ On its military side the Revolution was accomplished.

The scattered details of James's army were still in the field. An order appointing their quarters had been issued in the brief interval between James's return from Faversham on 16th December and his final departure from Whitehall on the 18th.⁴ On 21st December the order was repeated by William's authority, and officers and rank-and-file alike were bidden to repair to the quarters assigned to them.⁵ James, meanwhile, had arrived at

Earl of Balcarres, quoted in Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. p. 162. The information was undoubtedly communicated to his son by Balcarres himself, and though certain details, some of which I have omitted, seem somewhat apocryphal, there is no reason to question the general accuracy of the story.

¹ Sir Patrick Hume's Diary, quoted in George Rose, *Observations on the historical Work of the late Right Honorable Charles James Fox*, App. No. 9, p. lxxix. William came from Windsor, where he had arrived on the afternoon of 14th December (*History of the Desertion*, p. 97).

² *History of the Desertion*, p. 104.

³ Sir Patrick Hume's Diary, in Rose, *Observations*, App. No. 9, p. lxxix. The three regiments of the Scots Brigade from Holland took up their quarters in Southwark on the same date (Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 567).

⁴ *The London Gazette*, No. 2411.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 2412. The following were the quarters assigned to the Scottish regiments:—Livingstone's Life Guards, Bicester; Dundee's regiment, Abingdon; Dunmore's dragoons, Islip; Douglas's regiment, Thame; the regiment 'late of Col. Bochan,' Witney. The Scottish regiments, it will be observed, were drawn round Oxford.

Rochester on 19th December.¹ In the early hours of 23rd December he set out towards Dover and embarked for France. A familiar but untenable story, detailed to Carte the historian, presents Dundee at the final leave-taking, insistent to the last on the folly of flight, the certainty of success if the position were resolutely faced. One David Middleton is even declared to have overheard the conversation, and James's magnanimous reply: 'I believe it might be done; but it would cause a civil war, and I would not do so much mischief to the English nation, which I love, and doubt not but my people will soon come to their senses again.'² The platitude stamps the story apocryphal. But the *Grameid* is held to support the tradition:

'Gramo

Tristis et illa dies, qua castris ire Stuartum
Viderat armatum, quaque hunc conspexit inermem
Furtivae dare terga fugae, vectumque biremi
Exigua patriae linquentem littora terrae.'³

The incident, if like Dundee's escort of the Queen and Prince, it has foundations deeper than Philip's imagination, is more applicable to James's departure from Whitehall in his barge on 18th December than to his departure from Dover in a sea-going vessel on the 23rd. Dundee was certainly not a dejected spectator of James's departure on the 23rd. The King mentions several persons who visited him at Rochester. Dundee's name is not among them. The source of the tradition may be traced, perhaps, to the fact that Major Ranald Graham, of the Earl of Bath's regiment quartered at Rochester, is particularly mentioned in the King's autobiography as a sympathiser at

¹ *Life of James the Second*, ed. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 268.

² Biscoe, *Earls of Middleton*. p. 162.

³ *Grameid*, p. 43. Canon Murdoch translates the passage: 'Sad to the Graham was the day when he beheld the King, now armed in his camp, anon unarmed, turning his back in flight, and secretly, in a two-oared boat, leaving the paternal shores.'

this crisis.¹ The presence of Dundee, to whom the King had so recently confided his military interests in Scotland, would have been in the last degree indiscreet. His present rôle was to wait and watch, unobtrusively and observantly, prompt to act when need or opportunity compelled.

As the situation developed, as William's intention to seat himself upon the throne, and the acquiescence of all but the extreme Jacobites, became evident, Dundee faced the alternatives of either falling into line with the majority, or of seeking an assurance that he would be left unmolested in passive opposition. The first was not in his character. The second was a simple measure of precaution. He was already a marked man. Upon James's final departure the managers of the Scottish Jacobites met constantly at the Ship Tavern in St. James's Street. Anticipating the vengeance of the victorious Whigs, it was proposed to limit its action by offering up five of the defeated faction for public ostracism. Dundee and Balcarres were of the number. The proposal was conveyed to William, who rejected it with characteristic shrewdness, 'being resolved to put no Body in Despair, till once he knew how they intended to behave for his Interest.' Balcarres, who was known to William, and indeed was connected with him by marriage, waited on the Prince.² William expressed his assurance of Balcarres's support at the forthcoming Convention.³

¹ *Life of James the Second*, ed. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 268. The author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 240) traces the assumption that Dundee had accompanied the King to Rochester 'to the presence of another Grahame descended of the Netherby line—James's private secretary.' She accepts, however (p. 246), Carte's story of Dundee's visit to the King on his last day in England.

² Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 49.

³ This detail suggests that the interview took place subsequent to 5th February 1689, on which date summons to the Convention were issued, or, at least, not earlier than 14th January, on which date the Scottish

Balcarres answered frankly: 'he could have no hand in turning out his King, who had been a kind master to him, although imprudent in many things.' William thrice sounded Balcarres on the subject, and failing to move him, 'at last told him to beware how he behaved himself, for, if he transgressed the law, he should be left to it.'¹

Dundee assumed an uncompromising attitude from the outset. On 7th January 1689 the Scottish notables in London met William at St. James's. He desired their advice as to the course to be pursued by him in Scotland. They gave their answer a week later (14th January). It was signed by about thirty peers and eighty commoners, and advised the summoning of a Convention at Edinburgh on the following 14th March. William was invited to take upon himself the administration of the kingdom in the meanwhile.² From these traffickings Dundee held aloof.³ The danger of his position he recognised. Prudence demanded that, without pledging his future action, he should sound William's intentions towards himself. He employed Gilbert Burnet, his connection by marriage, for the purpose. Burnet's

nobility had advised William to call one. The inference is that William's interview with Balcarres and Dundee was inspired by their aloofness from the other Scottish peers in London in the meetings between that body and William on 7th and 14th January.

¹ The memoirs of James, Earl of Balcarres, quoted in Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. p. 162.

² *History of the Desertion*, pp. 119, 120.

³ John Oldmixon, who was born in 1673, and was therefore Dundee's contemporary, whose sympathies were opposed to the cause which Dundee represented, declares specifically (*Memoirs of North-Britain*, p. 66) that Dundee 'did not joyn with the other Scots Lords, in their Addresses to the Prince of Orange,' but 'deolar'd on all Occasions that he design'd to go Home and live privately, and submit to what Government the States of that Kingdom should agree to.' Dundee undoubtedly had hopes that Scotland might, with the assistance he could anticipate from France, be kept true to the Stewarts. That he pledged himself in advance to accept the Revolution if the Estates endorsed it, as Oldmixon states, is contradicted by Burnet's account of his attitude at this crisis.

concise account of his mediation suffices to confound Macaulay's unprincipled version of it. Dundee 'employed me,' Burnet writes, 'to carry messages from him to the King, to know what security he might expect, if he should go and live in Scotland without owning his Government. The King said, if he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him. To this he answered, that unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly.'¹ The meaning of this is clear to conviction. Dundee approached William not as a penitent, but as one whose hostility was patent and avowed. William met him in the spirit in which he had already rejected the proposal of ostracism. With no prevision of Dundee as a second Montrose, he was content to leave one who ventured to assert himself an irreconcilable, to be tutored to surrender by the inexpugnable position which common prudence should daunt him to attack. Dundee, on his part, gave no pledge of acquiescence, and was not required to give it. He undertook to 'live quietly,' that is, not to disturb the new *régime*, 'unless he were forced.' He kept his promise to the letter.²

Nothing further could be done in England. Dundee, with his fellow peers, received William's summons to the

¹ Burnet, *History of my own Time*, ed. 1753, vol. iii. p. 29. Macaulay, who affects to found his account on Burnet, distorts Burnet thus: 'Dundee seems to have been less ingenuous [than Balcarres]. He employed the mediation of Burnet, opened a negotiation with Saint James's, declared himself willing to acquiesce in the new order of things, obtained from William a promise of protection, and promised in return to live peaceably.' Macaulay adds the *Lives of the Lindsays* to Burnet as his authority. But that work states (vol. ii. p. 163) that William was no more successful with Dundee than with Balcarres! The example is typical of Macaulay's method.

² In support of Burnet, and in disproof of Macaulay, Morer's version of Dundee's communication with William may be quoted: 'On the King's departure, he apply'd himself to the Prince [of Orange], with whom he was too free in declaring his Thoughts, and therefore could expect no kind Reception. Upon this he retired' (*Short Account of Scotland*, p. 97).

forthcoming Convention at Edinburgh.¹ With Balcarres he returned to Scotland, 'the first that came down' from London.² Dundee's own troop of his regiment was his escort.³ Dudhope, where an anxious wife awaited him, was his goal. He had played a part in a national crisis. He resumed briefly a more parochial rôle. On 24th February 1689 he presided as Provost over the Town Council of Dundee.⁴ Summons to a wider stage was imminent.

¹ It is dated 5th February 1689, and is among the *Duntrune MSS.*

² Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 58.

³ *Swift's Works*, vol. x. p. 174. See Napier, vol. iii. p. 492.

⁴ *MS. Minutes of the Town Council of Dundee.* Three days later (27th February 1689) Dundee presided for the last time as Provost.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONVENTION

'To the Lords of Convention, 'twas Clavers who spoke,
Ere the King's crown go down, there are crowns to be broke,
So each cavalier, who loves honour and me,
Let him follow the bonnet of bonnie Dundee.'¹

SCOTT's stirring lines conjure up a familiar picture. But Dundee was no fire-eating enthusiast. He had returned from England assured that for the moment in that kingdom James's cause was hopeless. In Scotland the position was more open. But he had promised, if Burnet may be trusted, to 'live quietly,' to acquiesce passively in a *fait accompli* provided he and his party were not the objects of a Whig vendetta. But to found his bold stroke for James and loyalty upon the breach of that condition, would be to represent him and his actions inadequately. Even Burnet does not assert that he had undertaken to conform irrevocably to a settlement, his opposition to which he did not conceal. The King over the water still had unbroken claim upon his service, and he was free to give it if the claim was made. For the moment his course of action depended upon James, and upon the

¹ It has long since been pointed out by a writer in *Notes and Queries* (first series, vol. ii. p. 171) that the term 'bonnie Dundee' belongs by prescriptive right to the town and not to the Viscount. The writer quotes a verse of an old song as sung *circa* 1800:

'O whar gat ye that hauers-meal bannock,
My bonny young Lassie, now tell it to me?'
'I got it frae a sodger laddie,
Between Saint Johnstone and bonnie Dundee.'

attitude of the Whigs toward those who were the late King's avowed partisans. In that spirit Dundee approached the Convention.

At Dudhope Dundee lingered to the last moment.¹ His wife was about to become the mother of a son who briefly bore his title. On 12th or 13th March 1689 he rode towards Edinburgh and the crisis of his career. The Convention opened its momentous session on the 14th. Dundee was present, and signed the roll.² The Estates met under conditions which threatened at any moment to fire the blaze of civil war. The Duke of Gordon, whom Dundee and Balcarres, a few weeks before, had induced to remain at his post,³ menaced the city with the guns of the Castle. The wynds and alleys of the town concealed bands of 'wild Western Whigs' ready at a nod to fall upon their discredited oppressors. A more reliable force was on its way to replace the dispersed or muzzled establishment which Dundee had left behind him in England.⁴ On 13th March the three regiments of the Scots Brigade, which had been quartered in Southwark since William entered London, began their embarkation for Leith. Hugh Mackay of Scourie, 'very indisposed for such an expedition, not being recovered of a great sickness wherby he had been attacked shortly after his landing in England,' accompanied them in command.⁵

¹ He signs a document at Dudhope on 11th March 1689 (*Charters, Writs, and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee*, p. 114).

² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 4.

³ Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 58.

⁴ Douglas and other commanders had accepted the Revolution. Dunmore's dragoons (the Scots Greys), among whom, however, there was a not inconsiderable minority of loyalists, were employed against Dundee in the Highland campaign. For the revolt of Dumbarton's regiment at Ipswich in March 1689 and its declaration in favour of James, see *Commons' Journals*, vol. x. p. 49.

⁵ Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 482; *Memoirs of the War carried on in Scotland and Ireland, 1689-1691*, by Major-General Hugh Mackay (Bann. Club), p. 4. His instructions are in *ibid.*, p. 221. Burnet calls him 'the pioussest man I ever knew, in a military way' (*Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 36).

The first day's (14th March) proceedings of the Convention¹ revealed the numerical superiority of the Whigs. In the voting for the election of a President, the Duke of Hamilton was appointed by a majority of fifteen over the Marquis of Atholl. The latter had lately been one of James's Secret Committee. His conduct in the present crisis indicates a judicious resolution to keep in with both parties. The Convention passed forthwith to an 'overture for the securitie of the meeting from insults and tumults.' The Castle was the chief menace, and the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale were sent to demand its delivery. They carried a promise of exoneration to Gordon and his co-religionists in it. Gordon demanded and was given the promise in writing, and returned an undertaking to surrender upon conditions. Balcarres and Dundee immediately (14th March) despatched a messenger to remind the Duke of his engagement to them. Gordon, however, stood by his resolution. He was determined to surrender, he sent answer, unless he had a written statement 'that it was of absolute Necessity for your [James's] Affairs not to yield' the Castle. What Gordon required, in fact, was a guarantee that James's adherents contemplated active measures. To hold the Castle otherwise would be a Quixotic act of self-immolation. Dundee and Balcarres hurried to send him the assurance he demanded. In the small-hours of the next day (15th March) Dundee himself got access to the Castle, and 'confirmed' Gordon 'absolutely in his Resolution of keeping it out.' He communicated to him also the first hint of the intention of the King's friends to dissociate themselves from the

¹ The account here given of the proceedings of the Convention is derived from a MS. in the Advocates' Library (33. 7. 8.) entitled *The Minutes of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland holden att Edinburgh 14th March 1689*. See the minutes printed in vol. ix. of *Acts Parli. Scot.*

Convention, and to summon a meeting in opposition to it at Stirling.¹

Dundee's conversation with Gordon conveyed a resolve which so far was unofficial. An agreement to hold a rival Convention at Stirling was not arrived at by the party managers until 16th March 1689,² and it was never carried into effect. But the contemplation of such a step by one who had undertaken to live quietly unless he was 'forced' has easy explanation. James was already, with French troops, in Ireland (12th March), and though the news had not yet reached Edinburgh, it was expected. Communications from the King to Dundee, Balcarres, and those on whose loyalty he could count, were also on their way. In such a crisis Dundee's action was already determined. Personal reasons alike impelled him. Edinburgh was filled with violent partisans of the Whig notables.³ Brought thither from districts in which Dundee had been most active, they waited greedily for the opportunity to strike at their oppressor. Dundee was doubly 'forced' to abandon a passive rôle.

At ten o'clock on the morning of 15th March the Convention assembled to receive Gordon's reply to yesterday's message. 'I am wiling to comply with the Commission I received be the Earles of Lowthian and Twadale,' he wrote. He demanded a general indemnity for himself and the garrison as a condition of his surrender. The Convention debated his letter, and resolved to offer him

¹ Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, pp. 64-66.

² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³ 'Some Days before the Convention sat down, the Duke of H[amilto]n and other Western Lords and Gentlemen brought publicly into Town several Companies of Foot and Quartered them in the City, besides great numbers that they keepest hid in Cellers and Houses below the Ground, which never appeared until some Days after the Convention was begun' (Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 59). The general truth of this statement is amply confirmed. See below, p. 253.

safe-conduct 'to attend the meeting to facilitat' a treaty. A third time Lothian and Tweeddale journeyed up the Castle's steep ascent, and hastened back with Gordon's unexpected withdrawal of his offer to surrender. Dundee, in fact, had preceded the two Earls by a few hours up the Castle road. He now intervened in the debate and produced a letter in which the Duke offered to meet the objection to himself as a Roman Catholic by surrendering the Captaincy of the Castle to the Earl of Airlie, a Protestant. Airlie had been one of Dundee's troop captains, a man, no doubt, on whom he could better rely than the nervous Gordon. For that reason among others, it may be, 'the overture [was] not agreed to.' In place of it the heralds, with their attendants, were bidden 'to summond the Duke of Gordon and other papists in the Castle of Edinburgh to remove themselvis therfrom immediatly on paine of treason.' Proclamation was also made 'discharging the leidges to converse with, abbet or assist the Duke or any others under his command,' and a reward was offered to the Protestant members of the garrison, 'in caice they secure the castell and dispossess the Duke and other papists thereof.' The second day of the Convention reached its close.

Before the Convention resumed on the 16th, Dundee had definite warning that his life was threatened.¹ Burnet affects to scoff at a danger of which Dundee was prompt to take advantage.² But the reality of it is beyond dispute. On the first day of the Convention, that body had under consideration a proclamation ordering the

¹ Balcarres (*An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 67) says that 'just as the Convention was sitting down,' Dundee received information of a plot to assassinate Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh and himself, and was assured that if the necessary warrant could be obtained, his informant would 'instantly carry' him to the house where the plotters were. The refusal of the Convention to meddle in the matter, Balcarres adds, made Dundee 'press yet the more to be gone then before.'

² *History of my own Time*, ed. 1753, vol. iii. p. 30.

removal from Edinburgh of 'such persons as are not concerned as members or their servants in the meeting, nor as Inhabitants and traders in and about Edinburgh.' It was again under consideration on the 15th, but no conclusion was arrived at.¹ Admittedly there were in the city during the Convention 'a set of men,' as Alexander Reid describes them, 'commonly called the rabble,' who 'were received into it in a warlike posture, and guarded the men who might be in hazard.'² With some exaggeration Dundee's earliest biographer declares that 'no man that had served King Charles the Second or King James's reigns, was safe in the streets.'³ Dundee at least was a marked man. Sir George Mackenzie was warned that he also was in danger. So soon as the Convention met (16th March), a motion was 'urged and largely spoken to' by Mackenzie, 'for securitie of the members.' Information that two men had been heard to say they would 'use the persons of the Lords Dundee and Rosshaugh as they have formerly used them,' was communicated by the President. James Binnie, a dyer, was summoned to support the information. He declared 'that he heard two men yesterday in his oun houss in Edinburgh say, they resolved to

¹ *Minutes of the Convention*, fol. 4, 7.

² *Life of Alexander Reid* [1646-1706], 3rd edit. p. 53. See Shields, *A Short Memorial*, p. 40. This Cameronian guard was drawn principally from Glasgow (Thomas Carter, *Historical Record of the Cameronian Regiment*, p. 2). It was not dismissed until 28th March 1689, after having been employed to begin the siege of the Castle pending Mackay's arrival (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland*, Lond. 1689, p. 22). The Whig or Cameronian guard is stated to have been under the command of 'Daniel Ker, brother to Kersland' (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 235).

³ *Memoirs of 1714*, p. 16. Gilbert Rule, on the other extreme, asserts that Dundee, in order 'to surprize and seize the Convention,' had 'secretly got together, of King James's disbanded Souldiers and others, about 2000 Strangers in Edinburgh; which occasioned those in the West to gather as many into Edinburgh to oppose them, and secure the Convention' (*A Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, Edin. and Lond. 1691, p. 9).

use these dogs as they were used by them, after asking for the lodgings of these two Lords, ading that they should not escape them, though it was not to be done fore some nights.' The subject aroused but languid interest, and the Convention passed to other business.

A report from the Committee of Elections, and a statement that the Duke of Gordon had been seen 'betuixt nyn and ten acloak yesternight betwixt the Cross and the Luckenbooths,' in a hackney-coach, 'with two flambois and six footmen,' having been considered, the rival parties ranged themselves for battle on a matter of greater moment. 'Then a Letter brought into the meeting and offered to there consideration be one Mr. Craun,' the Minutes of Convention record laconically.¹ The letter was from James. A motion, that a report 'anent the Election for the toun of Pearth be first considered' was voted and carried in the affirmative! The Perth election being disposed of, motion was made to consider the King's letter. Hamilton countered with information that the Earl of Leven had brought a letter from the Prince of Orange, 'and offered it might be read lykways.' Debate ensued as to which of the letters should be read first. It was voted 'most convenient' to give priority to William's, 'in regard it could not desolve the meeting, as the other could doe.' Lord Sinclair alone protested, 'that his hearing the said Letter and thereafter siting in the meeting might not Import any acknowledgment of his ouning a forraigne authoritie against his alleadgiance.' From Dundee, and for due reason, not a word. A motion followed, that 'notwithstanding of what is contained in his Majesties

¹ In *The History of the Affaires of Scotland*, Lond. 1690 (p. 63), the bearer of the letter is described as 'one Crane, who went under the Notion of a servant to the late Queen in France.' In October 1701 a 'Mr. Crane' had a warrant to be a Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber in the Household of Queen Mary (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Stuart Papers*, vol. i. p. 164).

[James's] letter, this meeting should not dissolve, but sitt wntill the religion, laws, liberties and properties of the Kingdome be secured.' Dundee supported the motion.¹ That he did so, Professor Hume Brown declares, is 'a stain on his scutcheon.'² The conclusion is not obvious. Dundee had every reason to believe that James's letter was innocent of the menace which the Convention feared. He anticipated that it would prove the lessons of the past to have been laid to heart, and that its moderate tone would relieve the Convention from the alternative, irksome to many, of declaring the crown forfeited. For the letter, he had every reason to suppose, was modelled upon a draft of his own composition, at least with his sanction, which David Lindsay had carried to deliver personally into James's hands a few weeks before. It was therefore with consternation and dismay that Dundee listened to a communication that proved James heedless or ignorant of the advice tendered him.³ So soon as the Convention adjourned, the party managers met to discuss their plans. It was resolved to 'quell' the Convention, and to summon

¹ See the list of signatories in *Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 8.

² *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 442.

³ A piece of information, overlooked by previous writers, has enabled me to explain Dundee's attitude towards James's letter. Sir John Maclean, *circ.* 1703, giving information to Lord Leven regarding the Jacobite plot of that year, mentions David Lindsay as 'the man who carry'd the draught of a letter prepared by the Lord Dundee and others for the late King James to signe and send to the convention of estates, with ordors to deliver it to non but King James himself; but was deluded by Lord Melfort, who prepared a differant leter and suppressed] this. He [Sir John Maclean] says this story he had from my Lord Dundee himself' (Fraser, *The Melvilles and the Leslie's*, vol. iii. p. 235). Maclean is supported by the memoir of Balcarres's son, which mentions David Lindsay as the bearer of despatches to James from Dundee and Balcarres at London (Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. p. 183). For David Lindsay's employment at James's Court, see *Hist. MSS. Comm. Stuart Papers*, vol. i. pp. 106, 119, 172. He returned to Scotland under favour of Queen Anne's Act of Grace (Terry, *Chevalier de St. George*, p. 30).

James's letter to the Convention, dated from on board the *St. Michael*, 1st March 1689, is printed in *Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 10.

in the King's name a rival body to meet at Stirling.¹ Dundee insisted upon instant action.

Sunday passed without incident. The morrow, Monday, 18th March, was appointed for the Jacobite exodus. Balcarres was pledged. Atholl was pledged. Neither stirred at Dundee's summons. Balcarres condemns Atholl, whose 'heart failed.' He had begged a day's delay. It was agreed to, with a resolution to attend the Convention once more, 'the better to cover our Design of going away.' Monday dawned. No hint of Atholl's indecision had reached Dundee. At about ten in the morning, just as Balcarres, Atholl, and the rest, were setting out to 'the House,' Dundee rode up with a cavalcade of two or three score, and hearing of the new plan, was 'mightily surpriz'd.' He was urged to fall in with it, and refused—'an appointment with some to go with him' was his reason.² So he rode away, a fraction of his own troop at his back.³ Down Leith Wynd they clattered, skirted the North Loch, and wheeling leftward, reined up at the foot of the Castle's western front.⁴ A sign from the battlements had called the halt.⁵ Hidden from the town by the ragged escarpment, Dundee clambered up the rock's steep face.⁶ A

¹ Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 69.

³ A letter from Edinburgh states: 'On Munday last my lord Dundie went out of the toune with great anger and conveined ane number of 40 or 50 horses weil mounted, haveing bein trouperis in his owne troupe formerlie' (*Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, Spalding Club, p. 381). See Dundee's letter below, p. 261, whence it appears that those who accompanied him had their own following.

⁴ *Memoirs of 1714*, p. 16. Tradition has it, that as he rode, some one asked him whither he was going. 'Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me,' was his answer (Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 287).

⁵ That Gordon invited the parley is stated both by Balhaldy, who met Dundee a few hours later (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 235), and by Balcarres (*An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 69).

⁶ The author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 258) regards this as an improbable, if not an impossible achievement. There is no doubt that

hurried conversation, an injunction to Gordon to hold the Castle at all hazards,¹ and Dundee was again at the head of his men, galloping westwards towards Linlithgow.²

News of the exploit broke in upon the Convention, where, by odd coincidence, a proposal to remove beyond the range of Gordon's cannon was under discussion. Leven was bidden 'to beat Drums' and prevent a sally from the Castle. Lord Montgomerie came in with further news: Dundee had been seen 'going towards the Queensferrie.' The Convention took prompt measures, and sent an express after the fugitive commanding his return. Major Hugh Buntine carried the summons,³ but missing

Dundee achieved it. The *Memoirs of 1714* (p. 16) state that he 'went by himself up to the castle wall.' Oldmixon (*Memoirs of North-Britain*, p. 43) places the interview at 'the Postern-Gate of the Castle.' The message carried forthwith to the assembled Convention was to the effect that Dundee had been seen conversing with Gordon 'over the castell wall' (*Minutes of the Convention*, fol. 16). As to the difficulty of the feat, the present writer found it a comparatively easy and short climb to the postern at which, as recorded by the tablet above it, the interview took place. There seems to be no particular reason to suppose that the rock was more rugged and less screened by sheltering brushwood in 1689 than it is now.

¹ On 16th March Gordon had written to the Earl of Tweeddale to ask him for an interview, assuring him that 'what I have to communicat shall not be disagriable' (*Minutes of the Convention*, fol. 10).

² *Memoirs of 1714*, p. 16. The letter already quoted states: 'My Lord Lithcow and the Laird of Langtoun with severall others followed him that same night' (*Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 382). The Lord Linlithgow here mentioned was George Livingstone, afterwards fourth Earl of Linlithgow, whose father (d. 1690) had been major-general of the forces in Scotland in 1679. He himself had marched into England with his troop of the Life Guards. Napier (vol. iii. p. 505) names him as 'the only nobleman who went with' Dundee. Dundee's letter (see below, p. 261) makes it clear that Livingstone and others accompanied him, but in the light of the letter quoted above, it seems probable that Livingstone did not ride out of Edinburgh with him.

³ Buntine's name is not mentioned in the MS. Minutes of the Convention, where the messenger is merely called 'a macer.' In the contemporary *Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland* (No. 2, p. 14) 'a Major with 80 Horse' is named as appointed to pursue Dundee. Balcarres's account (in Napier, vol. iii. p. 513) mentions Buntine by name. It is, however, possible that Buntine did not follow Dundee until 19th March.

his quarry, left the citation at the house 'quhair he was informed the Lord Dundee did lodge att Linlithgow.' So he reported to the Convention the following day.¹ The Estates (19th March) already had new information: Dundee had left Linlithgow: Stirling was believed to be his goal. The levies of West and Mid-Lothian were called out. Dundee and Livingstone were summoned to return to Edinburgh within twenty-four hours. The magistrates of Stirling were bidden (20th March) 'to seale the persone of the Lord Dundee,' Livingstone, and those with them in arms.² But the order was futile. Dundee was already safe behind the walls of Dudhope.

From Linlithgow, where he spent the night of the 18th, Dundee had ridden on towards Stirling. Mar held the Castle, but stood aloof.³ The town itself, warned of yesterday's events, was prepared to dispute an entrance.⁴ Passing the Forth at Stirling Bridge,⁵ Dundee rode on to Dunblane. Drummond of Balhaldy met him there. Ever since James's flight the veteran Lochiel had been

¹ *Minutes of Convention*, fol. 28. Creighton's senile garrulity is responsible for the statement that Buntine overtook Dundee, and that the latter frightened him back to Edinburgh with the threat, that otherwise 'he would send him back to his masters in a pair of blankets' (*Works of Swift*, vol. x. p. 178). Buntine's want of success in his mission probably fathered the idea that he was, as Creighton imagines, not anxious to execute it. *The Grameid* (p. 44) calls him 'the sluggish Buntine' (*piger Buntinus*) and 'that pitiful veteran' (*vetus iste*). Buntine certainly conveyed to his employers no impression of insincerity. On 24th April 1689 he was appointed General Muster-Master of the forces to be raised by the Estates (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland*, No. 16, p. 45).

² *Minutes of the Convention*, fol. 23, 29. The following item in the town's accounts relates to the order to the Stirling magistrates to apprehend Dundee: 'Item, to ane post that cam frae Edinburgh with ane lyne from the provest to the rest of the magistratis to apprehend Dundie, £2. 8. 0.' (*Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling*, p. 333). Dundee, it may be remembered, was a burghess of Stirling.

³ Balcarres mentions Atholl, Mar, and Annandale as having 'joined the other party' (Napier, vol. iii. p. 513).

⁴ *An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 3, p. 15.

⁵ *Memoirs* of 1714, p. 17.

active among the Clans, the one reliable asset in every Jacobite venture. A Montrose was wanting, and here, in Dundee, was the timely promise of him. Balhaldy had news of Lochiel's Highland confederacy to impart. Dundee listened greedily, and next day rode homeward to Dudhope, 'confirmed in his designs.'¹ The 'spirit of Montrose' clearly beckoned him.

Balcarres at a later time judged it necessary to defend Dundee from the charge of precipitancy. Not a line sanctioning resort to arms had reached him from James. His party was divided and irresolute. Mar and Annandale had gone over. Atholl faced both ways. Gordon was unreliable. Balcarres, not yet in prison, was on the threshold of it. Hamilton and the Convention sat seemingly impregnable. Mackay and part of the Scots Brigade arrived at Leith on 24th March. The remainder followed on the 28th. 'Through a Prospective' Mackay was already scanning the Castle's defences. On the same day (28th March) he was commissioned Commander-in-Chief under the Estates.² In view of the discouraging situation, so Balcarres avers, Dundee would not have stirred without James's orders, had he not been 'obliged to save himself from a Party that came to apprehend him.'³ Since he rode from Edinburgh on the 18th, his seclusion at Dudhope had tempted the wildest rumours.

¹ *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 235.

² *Great News from the Convention in Scotland*, Edin. 28th March 1689. Mackay's earliest measures were, to put a garrison into Stirling Castle; to 'cut off' Edinburgh Castle 'from intelligence and provisions'; and to recruit his regiments. See Mackay, *Memoirs of the War carried on in Scotland and Ireland*, pp. 5-7.

The forces at Mackay's disposal were at first only his Scots Brigade from Holland, some eleven hundred strong, Leven's new regiment, levied by the Convention, and a body of horse. Mr. Ferguson (*Scots Brigade*, vol. i. p. 482) holds that the recent recruiting of the Scots Brigade, with 'the sudden change in their composition,' was responsible for their failure 'to exhibit at Killiecrankie the stubborn endurance worthy of their foreign laurels.'

³ *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 79.

He had gone to the West ; had been refused a pass to Ireland ; had ' certainly gone to the North,' ' more for fear than for any other reason.'¹ A more discerning news-monger at length hit upon the truth : ' We hear no more of the Viscount Dundee since his withdrawing, but that he lives peaceably at his own House ; it beeing indeed but vain for that Party to think of attempting any thing against the whole Nation.'² At Dudhope Dundee remained, and there the summons, which hurried him to action, tardily found him. Its bearer had been seven days upon his trail.³ Dundee despatched him with his reply to Hamilton :⁴

DUDHOP, *March 27, 1689.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The coming of an herauld and trumpeter to summon a man to lay down arms, that is living in peace at home, seems to me a very extraordinary thing, and, I suppose, will do so to all that hears of it. While I attended the Convention at Edinburgh, I complained often of many people's being in arms without authority, which was notoriously known to be true, even the wild hill men ; and no summons to lay down arms under pain of treason being given them, I thought it unsafe for me to remain longer among them. And because some few of my friends did me the favour to convey me out of the reach of these murderers, and that my Lord Levingston and several other officers took occasion to come away at the same time, this must be called being in arms. We did not exceed the number allowed by the Meeting of Estates : my lord Levingstone and I might have had each of us ten ; and four or five officers that were in company might have had a certain number allowed them ; which being, it will be found we exceeded not. I am sure it is far short of the number my Lord

¹ *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland*, pp. 15, 16, 19.

² *Great News from the Convention in Scotland*, 28th March 1689.

³ He had received his instructions on 19th March to cite Dundee and Livingstone to return to Edinburgh within twenty-four hours. Upon his return to Edinburgh on 28th March with their replies he was ordered to explain the cause of his delay (*Minutes of the Convention*, fol. 23, 48).

⁴ Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 32.

Lorne was seen to march with.¹ And, tho I had gone away with some more than ordinary, who can blame me, when designs of murdering me was made appear? Besides, it is known to every body, that before we came within sixteen miles of this, my Lord Levingston went off to his brother, my Lord Strathmoir's house; and most of the officers, and several of the company, went to their respective homes or relations; and if any of them did me the favour to come along with me, must that be called being in arms? Sure, when your Grace represents this to the Meeting of the States, they will discharge such a groundless pursuit, and think my appearance before them unnecessary.

Besides, tho' it were necessary for me to go and attend the Meeting, I cannot come with freedom and safety, because I am informed there are men of war and foreign troops in the passage; and, till I know what they are, and what are their orders, the Meeting cannot blame me for not coming. Then, my Lord, seeing the summons has proceeded on a groundless story, I hope the Meeting of States will think it unreasonable I should leave my wife in the condition she is in. If there be any body that, notwithstanding of all that is said, think I ought to appear, I beg the favour of a delay till my wife is brought to bed; and, in the meantime, I will either give security or paroll not to disturb the peace. Seeing this pursuit is so groundless, and so reasonable things offered, and the Meeting composed of prudent men and men of honour, and your Grace presiding in it, I have no reason to fear farther trouble.—I am, May it please your Grace,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

I beg your Grace will cause read this to the Meeting, because it is all the defence I have made. I sent another to your Grace from Dumblin, with the reasons of my leaving Edinburgh. I know not if it be come to your hands.²

For His Grace the Duke of Hamilton.

The letter is ingenuous. Upon the facts its defence is sound. But, given the opportunity, the harmless tail that

¹ This refers, presumably, to a force of Argyllshire Highlanders which was brought to Edinburgh before Mackay's arrival. See his *Memoirs of the War*, p. 4.

² The letter, unfortunately, has not been found.

had followed its chief from Edinburgh would swell to the proportions of an army. On 28th March, Hamilton communicated Dundee's 'defence' to the Estates. It was 'considered,' but no action was taken upon it.¹ On the 30th it was again read, and judgment was passed: 'Forasmuch as John viscount of Dundee being cited be warrand of the meeting of the Estates to lay doune his armes under the pain of treasone and to appear befor them to answeare for his Corresponding with the Duke of Gordoun² after he was intercomuned And the herald who cited him and the witnesses to the Executione haveing upon oath verified the Execution of the charge given to the said viscount, And he being thryce called in the house, and at the great Door, and not appearing, The meeting of Estates Doe declair the said viscount of Dundee fugitive and rebell, And ordaines the heraulds with sound of trumpet to Denunce him at the mercat cross of the head brugh of the shire of Forffar wher he lives.'³

Declared fugitive and a rebel, the Convention drove Dundee prematurely into revolt. Three months later (27th June) he made his plaint to Melfort: 'I had neither commission, money, nor ammunitioun. . . . But I wonder, above all things, that in three months I never heard from you.'⁴ True, on 29th March 1689, James had signed at Dublin Castle a commission to him as lieutenant-general 'to command all such forces as can be raised there [in Scotland], and to command likewise such as we shall send from this to your assistance.'⁵ But the promised

¹ *Minutes of Convention*, fol. 48.

² On 18th March 1689.

³ *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 24. The Estates called out the militia south of Tay on the same date (*ibid.*, p. 25).

⁴ See his letter in Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 362.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 39. Forgetful, it would appear, that Dundee already held that rank, a commission to him as major-general was dated on the same day (*ibid.*, p. 39). James wrote to Balcarres on the same date, declaring his resolu-

assistance did not arrive. The commission was intercepted.¹ It was not until 22nd June,² a few weeks before his death, that Dundee received any communication from the King for whom he had worked single-handed, marking time, as it were, maintaining at least the appearance of a cause, until the King's plans ripened to the longed-for campaign.

tion to come to Scotland as soon as possible, and his intention to send over a force of five thousand men (*ibid.*, p. 38). A letter of similar tenor was also written to Dundee, and on the same date. It carried the assurance: 'if it shall pleas God to give success, to our just cause, wee will let the antient cavallier pairty know that wee are the only true basis that monarchy can rest upon in Scotland' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xi., pt. vi. p. 178).

¹ It and the documents mentioned in the above note fell into the hands of the Government shortly before 16th April (*Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 43). Hamilton forwarded them to William on 17th April 1689, and in view of their nature, pushed on the settlement of the Crown (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xi., pt. vi. p. 176).

² See his letter of 27th June to Melfort.

CHAPTER XIV

IN THE TRACK OF MONTROSE

THIRTY years of heedless misrule had brought inevitable catastrophe. With unflinching directness the Convention declared the throne vacant on 4th April 1689, and offered it to William and Mary a week later.¹ Ere they accepted it, Dundee was in the saddle. He had tarried to see his wife a mother, and to name the boy James. 'Mr. David Graham, brother german to my Lord, and Major Will Graham' sponsored the infant at the font.² But Montrose was his real godfather. His father was soon far away, treading the path, with happier climax, of him whose name was also his son's.

It is a brave picture, coloured lavishly, that Philip gives in the *Grameid* of Dundee's defiant challenge to William. Dundee Law was the scene of it. Dudhope and its pleasant orchards lay beneath ; Dundee, its citizens

¹ *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. pp. 33, 37.

² 'James Grahame son lawfull to my Lord Dundie' was baptized on 9th April 1689. The entry is in the MS. Register of Mains Parish. He died shortly before 3rd December 1689 (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 77, p. 172). Lady Dundee, *Rara sui sexus et nostri rarior ævi Gloria*, as James Philip calls her, was already delivered when Dundee set forth (*Grameid*, p. 48). The fact that David Graham and Major William Graham were at Dudhope on 9th April supports the conclusion that Dundee had not yet raised the standard. A puzzling entry in the Register of Dundee births makes Dundee and his wife present as witnesses at a baptism on 9th May 1689. The entry is quoted in Millar, *Eminent Burgesses* (p. 168), and I have verified its accuracy. But Dundee was in Badenoch on 9th May. I conjecture that 'May' was entered in the Register by mistake for 'April,' the more so since 9th April was also the date of Dundee's son's baptism.

agog and wondering at their terrific Provost, lower still. On the height above, the relics of his troop around him, Dundee, in scarlet uniform,¹ raised the royal standard.² Then, with a backward glance towards Dudhope, he swept across the Sidlaws to his earlier home, Glenogilvie. Three days he halted there, awaiting news of Mackay's movements.³ On the third his scouts brought warning of Sir Thomas Livingstone's approach. Livingstone's was a 'misluct design'; for Dundee rode out of Glenogilvie 'the day before Sir Thomas came out of his quarter.' Mackay himself prepared to take the field, and sent the Master of Forbes northward to watch the Government's interests.⁴ Dundee was already on his way thither. Ice-covered torrents, snow-clad hills, rocky defiles, tangled woods, tempest, lightning-flash, delayed him not, writes Philip, in hexameters of wild poetic medley. Through Kirriemuir, covering Montrose's ground, over the North Esk, over Cairn o' Mount, the cavalcade sped until the Dee lay before them. Breasting their steeds to its swift current, they rode past Kincardine O'Neil,⁵ onward to the Don, and crossing it, passed through Clatt, along the

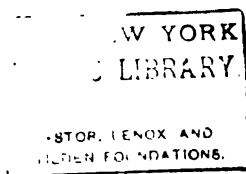
¹ *Tyrioque insignis in ostro* (*Grameid*, p. 48).

² The date of this event, the ceremoniousness of which Philip undoubtedly exaggerates, I am not able to determine. That it was later than 9th April I have already suggested. Canon Murdoch places it between 12th and 15th April (*Grameid*, p. 46). On the other hand, Hamilton reported to the Convention on 8th April 'several Rumours concerning the Viscount of Dundee his gathering men in the North' (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 10, p. 29). They were probably rumours and nothing more. Having regard to the date of Dundee's arrival at Keith (see below, p. 267), I incline to hold that he left Dudhope on 16th or 17th April.

³ *Soles at tres cunctantur in arce Vallis Ogilvianae* (*Grameid*, p. 49).

⁴ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 8. Mackay dates Livingstone's attempt to surprise Dundee as 'towards the 20th of April.' The phrase is too vague for determination of the accurate chronology of Dundee's movements.

⁵ *Inde per Oneali villam, quo nomine dicta est Carnea jam Regis* (*Grameid*, p. 50). As Canon Murdoch remarks: 'The Poet's skill in rendering the name into Latin deserves more praise than his etymology.'



Bogie Water, and so to Keith. The date was 21st April.¹ Two or three days' hard galloping lay between them and Glenogilvie.² On the morrow the troop was again in the saddle, still treading Montrose's track. The Spey was passed at Fochabers. Gordon Castle, where Dunfermline was ready to join at a summons, was left behind.³ Thence past Elgin, not without well-wishers,⁴ and so to rest 'mid Forres' sweet meadows.'⁵

The motive of Dundee's hasty ride was twofold. His resources were no match for Mackay, and prudence counselled withdrawal. An army had to be raised, the lairds of the north, the Clans in the west, to be sounded. His position at Forres gave him easy retreat to the Highlands if need arose. Meanwhile, he was eagerly sounding the chiefs. To the Laird of Mackintosh, his kinsman, he wrote from Coxton, near Elgin, on 24th April. He had written to him only two days before in similar strain; 'yet having the occasion of this bearer,' he explained his pertinacity, 'I am so concerned that you make no wrong step to the prejudice of your family, or to your own dishonour, I would not forbear to mind you of the just cause the King has, or the objections you have to him,

¹ The date is fixed by a letter written by Dundee at Keith on 21st April (*Letters and State Papers chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, Bann. Club, p. 13). The editor suggests that it was written to Lord Murray. It was, however, addressed to James, Earl of Dunfermline. See below, p. 268.

² From Glenogilvie to Keith the distance, as the crow flies, is less than seventy miles, and the north road is fairly direct. It is clear from Philip's account that Dundee travelled rapidly. Two days, or at the most three, would be occupied in the journey. Dundee must have set out from Glenogilvie, in that case, on 19th or 20th April. As Philip says he remained three days at Glenogilvie, Dundee would appear to have left Dudhope on 16th or 17th April.

³ *et pulchram pinnis sublimibus arcem Gordoneam, et celsas post terga relinquimus aedes* (*Grameid*, p. 51).

⁴ The Provost and two Bailies of Elgin were summoned before the Estates in May 1689 (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 86).

⁵ *Tandem inter dulces Forressae inaedimus agros* (*Grameid*, p. 51).

'several poor countrymen, with money in hand (and a promise of more at their return, with sure intelligence), upon country horses after him.' Northward towards Strachan and the Dee no trace of Dundee; none westward at Kincardine O'Neil. At Birse, yet further westward, they came on the track of him, heading, as it seemed, for Braemar, the Spital of Glenshee, and so to the Lowlands.¹

Dundee's westward flight was no more than a *ruse*. He held Mackay inactive until he had learnt the trick of it. Galloping over rough country, Dundee made the Dee at Birse, crossed it, and on, still westward, to Aboyne. Thence he wheeled northward, traversed 'the woods and mountains of Cromar,' crossed the Don at Kildrummy, and passing Druminnor, struck the Bogie valley, and cried a halt under the shelter of Huntly Castle.² At sunrise on the morrow (1st May) he was again in the saddle. Cheated of the hope of reinforcement in the south, the chance of it offered opportunely at Inverness. Thither he rode. At Gordon Castle Dunfermline joined him with near sixty horse.³ With the timely reinforcement he rode on, through Elgin and Forres, past Darnaway Castle, past Auldearn, with its memories of Montrose, and on by Ardersier to Inverness.⁴ He passed, had he known it, the last battlefield of the cause he strove for, Culloden field.

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 13.

² *Grameid*, p. 52. The bivouac on the night of 30th April Philip describes as *pulchramque ad Bogi flumina vallem*. Canon Murdoch interprets this to mean Huntly Castle, probably correctly. Druminnor was the residence of Lord Forbes. The Master of Forbes was a strong supporter of the Government. Hence Philip calls his house *vacuam Forbesi ignobilis arcem*.

³ *Memoirs of Lockheill*, p. 235. A witness in the process of forfeiture against Dunfermline deposed that 'he sawe the person who was called the Earle of Dumfermline joyne with the Viscount of Dundie in armes at the Boig of Geich' (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 57). Gordon Castle is known as the Bog of Gight.

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 53.

Inverness, at the moment when Dundee reached it, was subject to an experience characteristic of a time and a country in which the King's law still barely ran. Coll Macdonald of Keppoch was the disturber. Dundee's letters to the Clans had received a response. On his way northward from Cairn o'Mount Lochiel sent him new assurances of his zeal, and an invitation to Lochaber. Keppoch, with seven or eight hundred of his name and others, was despatched to act as escort.¹ He reached Inverness on 28th April.² But Keppoch had a little quarrel of his own to settle with Inverness and its neighbours, the Mackintoshes, and seized the opportunity to pursue it. Mackintosh booty already cumbered his camp when he appeared before Inverness and demanded a ransom.³ For three days he blustered and threatened. On the fourth

¹ *Memoirs of Lochell*, pp. 236, 237. Balhaldy describes Keppoch as 'a gentleman of good understanding, of great cunning, and much attached to King James, but indulging himself in too great libertys with respect to those with whom he was att variance.'

² '28th Aprille 1689. That day sermon preached be Mr Gilbert Marshall in the forenoone at the Cross, and that by reason Cole M'donald was about the town boasting to com in with his whole force, consisting of 8 ore 900 men, to plunder the town. Afternoone, Mr [Hector] Mackenzie preached as aforesaid, all the citizens being necessitate to stand in a posture off Defence' (*Inverness Kirk-Session Records*, ed. Alexander Mitchell, p. 8). Macaulay's account of this event and of the weather-beaten wall which alone kept Keppoch at bay is familiar. Mr. Kenneth MacDonald, Town Clerk of Inverness, has kindly placed at my disposal his notes on Jacobite Inverness, whence it appears that Inverness did not possess a town-wall. A rude palisade there was. Keppoch lay outside it 'between the Castle-hill and the Crown,' Mr. MacDonald conjectures. Mackay (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 14) expressly calls Inverness 'but an open country town.'

³ According to the *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 17) Keppoch complained of certain 'unneighbourly practices of the town of Inverness, and the Mackintoshes, against Keppoch's people, when he and his brother were in Ireland with King James.' In a letter written to Melfort in Ireland, received by him on 7th July 1689, Keppoch's force is described as consisting of seven hundred men, 'the most part volunteers.' 'They plundered,' the letter adds, 'M'Intosh's lands and the neighbourhood; which M'Intosh, in a manner, deserved, because the viscount had written twice to him, to declare for the King, and had got no return' (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 353).

(1st May) Dundee rode into his camp. The town's magistrates were already there endeavouring to strike a bargain. At their request Dundee intervened, pledged repayment when the King had his own again, and saw the reluctant officials return to Inverness to raise the money.¹ Keppoch was richer next day by £2700—*Scots*!² Dundee viewed his conduct with extreme displeasure, and expostulated 'in very sharp terms'; telling him 'that such courses were extremely injurious to the King's interest, and that instead of acquireing the character of a patriot, he would be looked on as a common robber, and the enemy of mankind.'³ Dundee had not mastered the Highland code, and his lecture for the moment cost him an ally. He had warned the Elgin magistrates to prepare provisions for his augmented force for the morrow of his arrival at Inverness (2nd May).⁴ But Keppoch re-

¹ The *Memoirs* of 1714, p. 17. The author, with considerable exaggeration, says that Dundee 'showed himself so generous a peace-maker, that he gave his bond for the money.' The letter already quoted (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 353) puts the transaction thus: Dundee 'told he would give his bond that, at the King's return, (since they had not yet declared the prince of Orange King), they should have their money repaid them.'

That the Inverness officials were in Keppoch's camp on Dundee's arrival appears from the *Grameid*, p. 55.

² The *MS. Minutes of the Town Council of Inverness* show that the money to buy off Keppoch was subscribed by the inhabitants. A minute of 23rd September 1689 records the refusal of the Privy Council to reimburse the town either for the money paid to Keppoch on 'the 2nd day of May last,' or for the expenses incurred later under Mackay's direction in strengthening the town's defences. On 22nd September 1690 the Town Council received a statement of the sums which had been received on the first account. The statement specified £2700 *Scots* 'Given by the Magistrates to Coll Macdonald to prevent the burning of the town.' The names of those who contributed to the fund are recorded in a minute of 29th September 1690. I am indebted to the Town Clerk of Inverness, Mr. Kenneth MacDonald, for these notes.

³ *Memoirs of Lochcail, p. 237.*

⁴ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 14. In the *Life of Lieut.-Gen. Hugh Mackay of Scoury*, by John Mackay of Rockfield (p. 26), the author regards Dundee's letter to the Elgin magistrates as a *ruse* to divert Mackay from what was Dundee's real intention, namely, to march into

fused to stir an inch to meet Mackay's rapid advance. Like the Highlanders after Falkirk in the '45, he thought only to deposit his loot. So he turned homeward to his own valleys, leaving Dundee in anger and disappointment behind him to face Mackay and his dogged pursuit.¹

Since Dundee vanished from Cairn o' Mount on 30th April, Mackay, after a momentary check, had recovered the trail and plodded on steadily in pursuit. Marching through the night of the 30th he passed the Dee at Kin-cardine O'Neil. The Master of Forbes, by whose empty house Dundee had ridden a few hours earlier, joined him next day with 'the matter of 40 gentlemen of his name on horse,' and a few hundred country levies of such unpromising material that Mackay was obliged to dismiss them. Hastening on, Mackay ended the day's march (1st May) at Strathbogie. Next day he advanced towards the Spey, and learning Dundee's intention to be at Elgin that night,² resolved to be there before him. He marched with such expedition, 'that the 200 old foot he had with him kept the horse and dragoons at the trot.' Elgin he reached before nightfall (2nd May), posted his guards, and resolved to halt there till he should be reinforced. An express was already on its way to Brechin to summon the eighty horse he had left there. He looked, vainly it proved, for strong and enthusiastic levies from the heritors of Moray.³

Lochaber to organise a rebellion. I doubt the accuracy of that view. The futility of such a scheme is best observed in the fact that Mackay hastened his movements towards Elgin. Dundee undoubtedly meant to fight, and had Keppoch followed him, it would have gone hardly with Mackay.

¹ Keppoch's force consisted partly of Camerons, and it was averred that they would not follow Dundee without Lochiel's consent (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 353).

² The Elgin magistrates informed Mackay of the fact. They had no mind to receive 'such hungry guests' as Keppoch's following.

³ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, pp. 13-15. Mackay expresses himself as fully alive to the hazard of his advance to Elgin. But he judged, that

For a few days the rival forces—Dundee near Inverness, Mackay at Elgin—watched each other inactive. Dundee had little hope of reinforcements, and received none, though his presence sharpened division between Whig and Tory in Inverness.¹ Mackay had better fortune. Colchester's 'sore-backed' horse from Brechin joined him. The Laird of Grant paid him a flying visit, and was despatched to his own country 'to have the men thereof in arms.' On 8th May he felt himself strong enough to advance upon Inverness.² At Forres he had news of Dundee's retreat, and unopposed made Inverness his headquarters.³

Dundee so far had made the utmost of resources so slender, that Mackay only terms him 'the enemy' upon his imminent junction with Keppoch. The King's cause had not filled a couple of hundred saddles. Keppoch, gorged with plunder, had gone homeward to digest. Mackay's advance had shut the door upon promising recruits at Dundee. Edinburgh newsmongers wagged knowing heads at the seeming conclusion of a silly venture. Dundee had dispersed his party, London readers were assured. Finding 'that the countrey would not joyn with him, but resolved to seize him and his Troop,' he had written to Mackay his offer to capitulate,

if he fell back, Dundee would 'render himself master of Inverness, as well as of Elgin, with the provinces of Murray, Ross and Caithness, which were mostly affected to that party, beside the affront and disadvantage it would be to the government to be so early upon the defensive.'

¹ This seems to be the interpretation of the following minute: 'May 5th, 1689 [Sunday]. No sermon, and that by reason of our Confusions' (*Inverness Kirk-Session Records*, p. 8).

² Mackay writes to the Viscount of Tarbat from Elgin on 8th May 1689: 'This day I march to Forres, and so to Inverness.' He reported that 'the mater of seven or eight hundred of the Macdonalds' had joined Dundee, and added, 'if they stay, I doubt not but wee shall have som action, but I apprehend they will betake them to the hills' (Fraser, *Earls of Cromartie*, vol. i. p. 62).

³ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 16.

and 'in the mean time he absconds with one or two Servants'!¹ The news was barely bruited in the London coffee-houses before the subject of it was giving alarming proof of his vitality.

From Inverness, on 8th May,² Dundee rode southward through Stratherrick to Invergarry Castle, Prince Charles's route from the fatal field of Culloden. Doubling back, he bivouacked for the night at Killeumin, the site of Fort Augustus. Next day (9th May) he traversed the Pass of Corryarrack, dropped down to the Spey, crossed it near Cluny Castle, and traversed Glen Truim to a night's shelter at the 'humble hearth' of Presmuckerach.³ He was in the Macpherson country, and among well-wishers.⁴ Before he resumed the march his summons was sent forth to the Clans, bidding them rendezvous on 18th May. The season was opportune for campaigning. The chiefs, or many of them, were eager. The need was instant to disappoint Mackay's design to quell the rising before James could reinforce it from Ireland. Such were his reasons. Added to them was 'the disposition of the low

¹ *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 18, p. 50.

² The letter to Melfort already quoted dates Dundee's departure as 'towards the 8th of May' (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 353). A letter of the Provost of Perth, which was communicated to the Committee of Estates on 12th May, states that Dundee had 'come from Inverness on Wednesday last,' i.e. 8th May (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 19). That date is certainly correct. Dundee was admittedly at Dunkeld on 10th May, and the *Grameid* (p. 57) is positive as to his having halted at Killeumin for one night (8th May) after leaving Inverness, and again at Presmuckerach (9th May). The third day (10th May) brought him through Blair to Dunkeld. His departure from Inverness on 8th May is also confirmed by Mackay's movements.

³ *Grameid*, pp. 56, 57. At the farm of Presmuckersach Dundee was the guest of Malcolm Macpherson, forester in Badenoch to the Gordon family (Fraser-Mackintosh, *Letters of Two Centuries*, p. 119).

⁴ According to Balhaldy, Dundee 'found the Macphersons of Badenoch very keen and hearty in their inclinations for that service' (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 238).

countries for the King.'¹ The last was a doubtful asset. Dundee went to prove it.

Dundee rose from Presmuckerach on the morning of 10th May. Skirting the Garry, riding through 'dense woods of hazel,' he reached Blair Castle. Not a man withstood him, to Mackay's despair. Thence, through Killiecrankie's pass, little recking the tragedy to be enacted there a few weeks hence, his troop clattered into Dunkeld. A spoil of money and arms rewarded the sudden raid.² Men and horses snatched hasty refreshment, in readiness for the next pounce.³ At nightfall (10th May) Dundee rode out of Dunkeld, crossed the Tay,⁴ and felt his way through the darkness towards Perth. Two miles from the town⁵ he called a halt, selected volunteers, and crept towards the slumbering town.⁶ The Earl of Perth's chamberlain, Thomas Crichton,

¹ See the letter to Melfort in Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 354. Canon Murdoch (*Grameid*, p. 58) dates the summons from Presmuckerach as probably issued on 6th or 7th May. Its date was clearly 9th or 10th May, probably the former.

² *Grameid*, pp. 58, 59. The money and arms had been collected for the new Government's service. An officer of the Perthshire militia seems to have been roughly handled, but *sine sanguine*.

³ Dundee appears to have been entertained by John Hamilton, Bishop of Dunkeld. See *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xiv., pt. iii. p. 117.

⁴ Philip says that he crossed *per vada caeca Tai* (*Grameid*, p. 59). As Canon Murdoch remarks, this may mean either that the fords were hidden by deep water, or that Dundee selected some less known ford than that ordinarily used. The former seems the more probable explanation of the passage.

⁵ *ad lapidem ab urbe secundum* (*Grameid*, p. 59).

⁶ Philip (*Grameid*, p. 59) says that the select party numbered twenty. According to a letter written on 11th May 1689 to Lord John Murray, Atholl's eldest son, Dundee entered Perth with 'about 80 or 90 hors' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xii., pt. viii. p. 37). The Provost of Perth, who sent immediate news to Edinburgh of the event, gives Dundee 'about 120 Horse, or thereby' (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 23, p. 63). Lieutenant James Colt, who was among those whom Dundee made prisoners at Perth, says that his numbers were 'about 70 horse' (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 54). As evidence, Colt's statement is certainly the most reliable, and the context suggests that the number was that of Dundee's *total* force. It coincides

acted as guide.¹ Between two and three in the morning (11th May) the daring band was within the town.² William Blair of Blair and Lieutenant Robert Pollock, officers of the new Government's levies, were rudely tumbled from their beds.³ Dundee, it is said, drily countered Blair's protest: 'You take prisoners for the Prince of Orange, and we take prisoners for King James, and there's an end of it.'⁴ Forty horses and a part of the recently collected public cess made up the loot.⁵ On private money Dundee would not lay a finger.⁶ By eleven in the morning⁷ the work was done. With his

with Mackay's estimate of his strength when he began the campaign. But Dunfermline had brought him about sixty recruits, which would bring his total strength to about the Provost of Perth's figure. The conclusion is, that either Dundee had only his original following with him on this expedition, or that they formed his select party, while Dunfermline's troop awaited the event outside Perth. In the latter alternative Philip's figures would appear to be underestimated, and with the object of magnifying the daring of the deed.

¹ He was captured on 7th June 1689, and was charged with having been very active on 11th May 'in guyding, informing or directing quhair Sir Colin Campbells horses and the other gentlemens horses were in toun, that the Viscount and his men seized on and tooke away' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. ix. p. 188).

² The Provost of Perth's letter (see above) states that Dundee 'came to Pearth by two a clock in the morning.' Another letter of the same date says that Dundee entered the town 'this day, be 3 in the morning' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xii., pt. viii. p. 37).

³ *Grameid*, p. 60. Blair is described as *somno stertentem alto*. For Pollock, see Canon Murdoch's note, *Grameid*, p. 61. Blair, Pollock, and the other prisoners taken at Perth were later sent by Dundee to Mull. Blair died at Duart Castle, whither he had been removed after the engagement at Dunkeld (*ibid.*). Balcarres was offered his liberty if he prevailed with Dundee to procure Blair's release. See *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, pp. 92, 141.

⁴ *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 54.

⁵ *An Account of the Proceedings of the Estates*, No. 23, p. 63.

⁶ 'When he surprized Perth, he suffered not the least Violence or Damage to be done the Town; and finding 500*l.* in the Collector of the Revenues Room, besides what belong'd to the King, he did not touch it, but said, he intended to rob no Man; tho' what was the Crowns he thought he might make bold with, seeing what he was then doing was surely to serve his Master' (Morer, *Short Account*, p. 99).

⁷ *An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 23, p. 63.

prisoners, the captured remounts, and the King's money jingling at his saddle-bow, Dundee departed as suddenly as he came.

With elation Dundee joined his waiting troops. In the galloping activity of the last few weeks he had traversed a route consecrated by the memory of an earlier Graham. Alford, Auldearn, Invergarry had awakened memories of the first *Grameid*. Tippermuir was hard by. It was the memory of Montrose that he invoked before he led his men onward.¹ Dundee was his objective. Crossing the river, he rode for Scone,² and dined with Lord Stormont, to that nobleman's discomfort hereafter.³ At Stobhall, the Earl of Perth's seat, he called another halt. On the following day (12th May) his troop, making Cargill their centre, levied King William's cess for King James's benefit throughout the surrounding country.⁴ At nightfall Dundee made ready for his next and sudden move. Then through the darkness he rode past Coupar, Meigle, and the Kirk of Eassie.⁵

¹ See the *Grameid*, p. 62. Philip also states that Dundee's men cut off derisively the *mala aurea* from the captured standard-poles. The gilt balls would suggest an orange, and hence, probably, their treatment.

² Philip's account (*Grameid*, p. 62) is somewhat difficult to follow. It appears, however, to mean that Dundee formed his troops in two detachments, one under an officer whom Philip calls *generosus miles*—Lord Dunfermline probably—and the other under his own leadership. Canon Murdoch conjectures that Dundee sent forward his troops while he lingered at Scone. Another explanation would be that he despatched part of his force with the spoils of Perth back to the Highlands, and himself proceeded to complete the object of his expedition.

³ Stormont hastened to explain to the Committee of Estates that Dundee had 'forced his Dinner from him.' Sir John Murray of Drumcairn and the Laird of Scotstarvet were also his guests on the occasion. All of them were summoned to appear before the Committee to explain their conduct (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 23, p. 63).

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 63. At Stobhall, David Halyburton of Pitcur and Major James Middleton visited Dundee. See Colt's evidence in *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 55.

⁵ Philip (*Grameid*, p. 64) calls it *fanum Colassie*. Canon Murdoch's interpretation, which I have adopted, would certainly seem to be the correct one.

Morning (13th May) found him at Glamis.¹ As at Carrigill, horses, money, and arms were impounded in the King's name. Early in the afternoon he breasted the Sidlaws towards Dundee. Halyburton brought him reinforcement on the way.²

At five o'clock in the afternoon (13th May) Dundee beheld its Viscount's troops approaching.³ Livingstone's dragoons were behind its walls. On the height above, Dundee⁴ waited eagerly for them to join him, and waited in vain. The walls were guarded, the gates were closed. The Viscount, as he rode the circuit of the town's defences, could discover no means of ingress.⁵ Livingstone was ready to join hands with him. Livingstone's colleague, Captain Balfour, the more obstinately kept within the gates.⁶ Sullenly Dundee withdrew at nightfall and made

¹ Canon Murdoch (*Grameid*, p. 64) remarks: 'I am informed that there is no documentary evidence at Glamis of this visit, but the legend of the place is that the Lord Strathmore of the day rode over the hills with Claverhouse from Glamis' to Dundee.

² Philip (*Grameid*, p. 65) speaks of him as *ingens agmen agens*, and adds the names of Fullerton of Fullerton and one named 'Venton' to the list of recruits. But it is clear from Lieutenant Colt's evidence (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 54) that Halyburton's *ingens agmen* amounted to only 'ten or twelve' men. Canon Murdoch conjectures that Philip's 'Venton,' whom Napier identified as Renton of Renton, was more probably a Fenton of Ogil (*Grameid*, p. 159).

³ *An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 23, p. 64.

⁴ Philip (*Grameid*, p. 66) particularly mentions him as having 'breast-plate and back-piece of strength, and a helmet under a covering of black fur.' Lieut. Colt (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 54) also mentions that Dundee wore his armour.

⁵ Philip gives a highly coloured account, which it would not be wise to follow literally. The fighting at the commencement of the affair was no more than the driving in of the garrison's scouts. Dundee lost one of his troopers while spying out the state of the town's defences. When he rode off, a small body appears to have followed him, probably to observe his motions. That is the sum of what happened. Local tradition, I believe, holds that Dundee fired part of the town's suburbs. There is not a shred of documentary evidence in proof of it; not a word of it, for instance, in the letter which was at once transmitted to Edinburgh by the Dundee magistrates.

⁶ Dundee attributed his failure to gain over Livingstone's troop to Captain Balfour's influence (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 354).

for Glenogilvie. The next day (14th May) he started on his return to the Highlands.¹ His wife and child perhaps were at Glenogilvie. He took farewell of them for ever.²

Andrew, Lord Rollo, was also in Dundee. He got there in the nick of time, and narrowly escaped capture by Dundee (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xiv., pt. iii. p. 117).

¹ Lieutenant Colt testifies to Dundee being at Coupar Angus on 14th May. Halyburton of Pitcur was with him (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 55). His route lay thence to Dunkeld, and along the north bank of the Tay and Strath Appin, passing Menzies, Comrie, and Garth Castles. Skirting the north shore of Loch Rannoch, he struck over to Loch Treig, and so to Glenroy. See his itinerary in the *Grameid*, p. 74, and Canon Murdoch's discriminating elucidation of it. Philip's account shows clearly that the march consumed three days. The first day took Dundee to Loch Rannoch (14th May); the second to Loch Treig (15th May). He arrived in Glenroy, therefore, on 16th May, two days before the rendezvous which he had ordered from Presmuckerach.

² The *Memoirs* of 1714 (p. 18) state that he 'went to his own house, Diddup, two miles from Dundee, and tarried two nights with his lady.' The error regarding Dudhope, and the length of his stay, does not lessen the probability that the ground fact is true, and that Lady Dundee was at Glenogilvie. On the other hand, Philip states that she took her last farewell of her husband when he set out from Dudhope in April.

CHAPTER XV

WITH THE CLANS

DUNDEE'S meteoric raid had been brilliant in the daring of it rather than effective in result. His appeal to the Lowlands had brought him less than a score of recruits, remounts for a troop, and a dole of money wherewith to clinch the loyalty of the Clans. Stewartism was moribund save in the Highlands. With the Psalmist, its exiled royalties, during the following half-century of Jacobite effort, could declare, 'help cometh from the hills.' To the authorities, however, Dundee's appearance in the Lowlands had carried considerable alarm. The affair at Perth, as an inhabitant remarked, was certain to 'make a great noyse.'¹ The demonstration at Dundee increased it. By six o'clock on the morning of the morrow (14th May) of that event the Committee of Estates met in anxious session. Berkeley's dragoons² and Hastings's foot regiment,³ which were believed to be already at Berwick, were summoned to the capital. Sir John Lanier, whom Mackay had left in the south in command, was directed to call up two more regiments. And Colonel Balfour was ordered to transport two hundred of his

¹ *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, collected and arranged by John, seventh Duke of Atholl, vol. i. p. 277.

² The Princess's Regiment of Dragoons, now the 4th Dragoons, Colonel the Hon. John Berkeley, afterwards Viscount Fitzhardinge (Dalton, vol. ii. p. 128).

³ The 13th Regiment of Foot (Somersetshire Light Infantry), Colonel Ferdinando Hastings (*ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 6).

regiment¹ that afternoon to Burntisland 'to prosecute such orders as upon intelligence you shall direct to them.'² Dundee's return to the Highlands on the same day cheated Balfour's force of anticipated service.

Meanwhile at Inverness, Mackay, whose position was curiously similar to Cope's in the '45, was isolated but not inactive. He had strengthened the palisade,³ reviewed three hundred 'well armed and resolved men' whom the town furnished, and was indefatigable, but hardly successful, in his summons to the neighbouring Mackenzies and Frasers to join him. He found them 'partly disaffected, and partly irresolute and indifferent, and all of them more apparent to joyn against than with him.'⁴ With the more distant chiefs he was also in correspondence. Lochiel did not trouble to answer his letters. Glengarry drily recommended to him 'the example of General Monck to imitate.'⁵ He had no better success with Cluny Macpherson.⁶ Mackintosh, appealed to by both sides, sat judiciously on the fence. His neighbours for the most part followed his example.

¹ Colonel John Balfour had succeeded to the command of Colonel Thomas Buchan's regiment, now known as the Royal Scots Fusiliers, upon the latter's adherence to James (Dalton, vol. ii. p. 218).

² *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 23.

³ Among the town's archives there is 'Ane Accompt of Money debursed be the Town of Inverness be the command of Major General Mackay and the other Governors commanding there, commencing from the 10th day of May to the 4th September '89.' The account enumerates the following items: 'For leading of carts fail to the fortifications and trenches,' £301. 7. 10; 'For timber to the barricades or fortifications,' £251. 13. 2; 'For iron work, including great bands of the turnpikes and their locks with spikes, nails, etc.,' £243. 5. 10; 'To carpenters for making the barricades and turnpikes,' £244. 4.

⁴ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19. According to Balhaldy, Lochiel brought the letters to Dundee unopened, and 'begged that he would be pleased to dictate the answers' (*Memoirs of Lochieil*, p. 240).

⁶ Mackay writes to Cluny on 6th and 21st May 1689. See *Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle*, ed. Alexander Macpherson, No. 2, p. 29.

Mackay reluctantly admitted the Laird of Grant his one reliable coadjutor.¹

In these circumstances Mackay, 'judging that not only his reputation, but the interest of the service would greatly suffer if he should return south without leaving that country [Inverness and the North] in a more settled condition,' summoned Colonel Ramsay from Edinburgh to march with six hundred of the Scots Brigade, whose recruiting he judged to be now complete. Ramsay's instructions were to march through Atholl and Badenoch. Mackay undertook to effect a junction with him in the latter country.² On 18th May Ramsay was at Leith ready to transport his force to Burntisland. The alarm was suddenly raised that the French fleet had entered the Forth. Inquiry proved that the squadron consisted only of a number of Dutch fishing-boats.³ Providence, 'whose directions are above our reach,' Mackay commented, had brought them there very inopportunately. Ramsay's passage was delayed for two or three days, until the absurd scare had subsided.⁴ On 22nd May he began his timorous march from Perth.⁵ Dundee had traversed the country not many days before, and Ramsay found the demeanour of the Atholl men threatening. Nevertheless, on the third day's march (24th May), he was still confident of his ability to get through Badenoch, and sent an express forward to say so. Within a few hours he had changed his mind. No message from Mackay had reached him. The Clans were already out. The march through Badenoch seemed hazardous. In the crisis of his irresolution an express, who had been detained by Dundee's

¹ *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 240.

² Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 17.

³ *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 20.

⁴ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 18.

⁵ *Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 86. Hamilton writes on 24th May to Mackay to say that Ramsay had left Perth on 'Wednesday last.'

well-wishers in Atholl, brought a verbal message from Mackay—his despatch was long since in Dundee's hands—authorising, so Ramsay gathered, his retreat towards Perth, and his attempt of a less dangerous route, should circumstances compel such a step. Ramsay hesitated no longer, and on 25th May retraced his course.¹

Ramsay's despatch, indicating his resolution to advance, reached Mackay at Inverness on the evening of 25th May. No hint came to him of Ramsay's later resolution. Early the next morning (26th May) Mackay set out for the rendezvous. Inverness he left under the command of David Ross of Balnagown.² The force accompanying him was under six hundred and fifty strong, and included about one hundred of Colchester's horse, one hundred and forty of Livingstone's dragoons, some two hundred infantry of the Scots Brigade, and two hundred of Lord Reay's and Balnagown's Highlanders. His commissariat contained provisions for a two days' march. A longer absence was beyond his anticipation. Thus equipped, Mackay set out for Badenoch, traversing the high-road through Moy towards Carrbridge.³ At or near the latter place alarming news reached him from

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, pp. 20, 123. According to Balhaldy, Ramsay blew up his ammunition. He is clearly inaccurate in his statement that Dundee pursued Ramsay 'many miles' (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 240). In an account of his march and retreat, Ramsay, while in Atholl, is said to have observed 'one in Dundee's Livery,' whatever that means, and to have ineffectually demanded his surrender (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 28, p. 73).

² Mackay's orders to Balnagown are dated 25th May 1689, and are printed in *Antiquarian Notes* (first series), by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, p. 65. Balnagown was ordered to relieve the guard at 4 A.M. on the 26th. According to Mackay, Balnagown had three or four hundred men to garrison Inverness. Lords Strathnaver and Rae sent in another two hundred (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 21).

³ Mackay does not mention Carrbridge by name. He had marched, he says, 'half way to Badenoch' when news of Ramsay's retreat reached him. Canon Murdoch's suggestion (*Grameid*, p. 112) that Mackay was then at or near Carrbridge seems reasonable.

the garrison at Ruthven. An express from its commanding officer informed him that Ramsay had retreated, and that Dundee was again in the field. Mackay's position was difficult. On the loyalty of the North he counted moderately, and the recapture of Inverness would admittedly carry serious consequences. To return there might avert that disaster. But retreat, he rightly judged, would leave Dundee free to roam at will over a friendly tract between himself and the capital. He therefore resolved to abandon Inverness and to transfer his force to the Spey, where he would be in touch with succours from the south, and haply head off Dundee from the Gordon country, 'which was his nearest help.' Sending a despatch to Inverness with news of his resolve, and a promise to return if necessity arose, Mackay resumed his march eastward, and plodding on through the night, found himself next morning (27th May) in 'the plains of Strathspey, betwixt Dundee and the low country.'¹

Dundee had arrived in Glenroy on 16th May,² two days in advance of the appointed rendezvous. Lochiel received him 'with all imaginable honour and respect.'³ Encamped by the Roy, his men chafed somewhat at the rigours of the climate, the coarseness of their food. They were gnawed by a compelling hunger which 'would have overthrown the Trojan walls without a contest'!⁴ As the 18th approached

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, pp. 21-24. Canon Murdoch, interpreting a statement of Philip (*Grameid*, p. 112), supposes that Mackay retreated from about Carrbridge to Culnakyle. But since Mackay, on his own statement, only halted after a twenty-four hours' march, he must have reached a spot much further eastward. It is more probable, since the Laird of Grant was with him, and 'to cover the Laird of Grants interest' was one of his objects, that he halted on 27th May at or near Grantown.

² See above, p. 284.

³ *Memoirs of Lochiel*, p. 239. Balhaldy adds that Lochiel furnished Dundee with a house about one mile distant from his own. *The Grameid* (p. 91) clearly states that Dundee encamped on the Roy, and that he shared the privations of his men.

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 91.

the chiefs began to appear. First to arrive was Alastair Dubh Macdonell, younger of Glengarry.¹ He brought between two and three hundred of his Clan.² Macdonald of Morar followed, 'a very honest gentleman,' with nearly two hundred of the Clanranald Macdonalds. The Stewarts of Appin and Macdonalds of Glencoe added a similar number. Keppoch, Dundee's recent lecture forgotten, brought two hundred of his Clan. The Camerons, led by Sir Ewen, contributed six hundred.³ In time-honoured ritual the assembled chiefs pledged a mutual 'band,' and Dundee bade them to be ready to advance 'when the seventh morning has brought back the light.' Then, 'the dark night having hid the day with gloomy wing,' in Philip's phrase, Dundee despatched a messenger to Ireland to report his hopes and actions, and to urge the King himself to head his cause.⁴

A week of inaction followed the ceremony of 18th May.

¹ Philip calls him *Gloria Grampiadumque decor* (*Grameid*, p. 96). Balhaldy also gives him a noble character. See *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 261.

² Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 354. The letter to Melfort, printed by Macpherson, says that Glengarry 'kept the day punctually, with betwixt 2 and 300 men, who on all occasions shews himself a man of honour, sense, and integrity.' Lieutenant Colt confirms the *Grameid* as to Glengarry being the first to join Lochiel and Dundee. He estimates Glengarry's force, however, at about five hundred men (*Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 55). That, in fact, was the strength of the Clan both in the '15 and the '45 (Terry, *Chevalier de St. George*, p. 380).

³ Macpherson, *ibid.* Allan Macdonald of Clanranald was about sixteen years of age, and was under the tutorship of Donald Macdonald of Benbecula (see Canon Murdoch's note in *Grameid*, p. 125). Clanranald was killed at Sheriffmuir. Robert Stewart of Appin was also a lad at this time, but left college to join his Clan, which had come out under the leadership of his tutor, John Stewart of Ardsheil (*ibid.*, p. 142). Lieutenant Colt puts Appin's strength at about one hundred and thirty, and Glencoe's at about two hundred (*Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 55).

⁴ *Grameid*, pp. 104-106. Philip names Dundee's messenger Dennis M'Swyne. But, as Canon Murdoch remarks, M'Swyne had been sent to Ireland in April and had not returned by 27th June. Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 239) also speaks of a letter sent to James at this time.

Dundee employed it in drilling his troops.¹ The fiery cross brought in more of the Clans, and on 25th May Dundee reviewed his host on the plain of Mucomir.² Philip vastly exaggerates the array, though he bore the standard past which the army marched.³ Glen-garry, heading three hundred of his Clan, led the van. His brother followed with one hundred more.⁴ Red-striped plaids, a sword, spear, and embossed shield were the Clan's accoutrements. Then came one hundred Macdonalds of Glencoe, 'Titanic of mould, giant-like in strength.' Their fated chief, Alastair Macdonald, led them, fierce of mien, his beard parting to the breeze, towering above the line.⁵ Next deployed five hundred Macdonalds of Sleat, led by their chief, Sir Donald Macdonald.⁶ The youthful Clanranald followed 'with

¹ Philip's vigorous picture, as translated by Canon Murdoch (*Grameid*, p. 110), is as follows:—'With him [Dundee] there is no pampering of himself, no sluggish ease or luxury, no listless sleep, but practising for the battle, he reviews his troops, and turns out his foaming squadrons on the plain. He deploys his compact columns, and wheels them again into formation, displaying the image of the future battle on the heavy and dusty plain. Mounted on horseback, he teaches the toilsome task of Mars, and how to meet the fire of the enemy, and the heavy charge of swift cavalry, and how to charge by horse and foot.' One suspects that Dundee's Lowland cavalry alone regarded with enthusiasm his lessons in military science.

² Philip calls the place Dalcomera, and Canon Murdoch remarks (*Grameid*, p. 120) that the plain was familiar to the Clans as a battleground. Balhaldy calls it Dalmaconner, adding that it was near Lochiel's house in Lochaber (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 234). The place appears on the Ordnance Map as Mucomir, and is on the north bank of the Spean, close to its outflow into Loch Lochy.

³ His account is on pp. 122-164 of the *Grameid*. It is not reliable, for many of those he mentions as present did not join Dundee at this period. I am greatly indebted to Canon Murdoch's identification of the persons mentioned by Philip.

⁴ The Macdonells seemingly had been reinforced since the 18th.

⁵ Balhaldy describes him as 'of the biggest size' (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 321).

⁶ Balhaldy (*ibid.*, p. 248) gives him about seven hundred men. That, in fact, was the strength of his Clan in 1745. In 1715 it was computed at one thousand. See my *Chevalier de St. George*, p. 380. As a fact, Sir Donald had not joined when Dundee returned to Lochaber in June.

his whole clan.'¹ Then came the intractable Keppoch and his twin brothers, leading two hundred of their name, armed indifferently with axes, 'javelins,' clubs, and muskets. Such was the Macdonald contingent, claiming the pride of place, whose denial found them muttering, apprehensive, on Culloden field half a century later.²

Sir Ewen Cameron led the second 'battle.' His life's span almost covered the gamut of Jacobite venture. Montrose was the hero of his youth. Sheriffmuir was a memory of his dotage. He died in the year (1719) of the abortive rising at Glenshiel. Mounted on a grey steed, his son³ and son-in-law⁴ by his side, he led past one thousand of his name.⁵ Cadets of his house were with him, MacMartin, Tannachy,⁶ John Cameron of Glendesary,⁷ and, joined in comradeship, the Macgregors,⁸ Cowals, Gibbons or MacGibbons, and Macnabs of the Lennox. Next came the Macleans, Sir John Maclean of Duart, who was 'out' in '15, Maclean of Torloisk, Maclean of Coll,

¹ On the 18th Clanranald's Clan had been less than two hundred strong. The strength of his Clan in 1745 was seven hundred; in 1715, one thousand (*Chevalier de St. George*, p. 380). Clanranald did not join until after Dundee's return to Lochaber from Edinglassie.

² Philip describes the Macdonells and Macdonalds as forming one battalion of twenty companies. Upon the numbers he gives, rating the Clanranalds at only two hundred, the total strength of the 'battalion' was fourteen hundred.

³ John Cameron. He was 'out' in '15, and died in France in 1747. His son Donald was the 'gentle Lochiel' of the '45.

⁴ Alexander Drummond of Balhaldy. Canon Murdoch conjectures that his son, William Drummond or Macgregor, the author of Lochiel's memoirs, is identical with the well-known Jacobite agent in 1744-45.

⁵ That was the estimated strength of his Clan in 1715. On 18th May 1689 he had under him only six hundred men.

⁶ 'I have been unable to identify this hero,' Canon Murdoch remarks.

⁷ Lieutenant-Colonel of Lochiel's regiment (*Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 55).

⁸ Philip's phrase is *Lonochaea tribus*. Canon Murdoch takes this to mean the Lennox septs.

with one thousand of their name behind them.¹ Robert Stewart of Appin and his tutor, John Stewart of Ardsheil, brought two hundred. Macneil of Barra followed on foot, panting under the weight of a huge battle-axe.² Next came Macleods from Raasa;³ Fraser of Foyers with the men of Stratherrick; John Grant of Glenmoriston,⁴ Macnachtan of Dunderaw, Alexander Macalister of Loupe, and with him, Maclachlan. Lamonts and Dougals brought up the rear.⁵

Rumours of movements among the Clans had reached the capital and were complacently discounted. Dundee, said one newsletter, was 'skipping from one Hill to another, like Wildfire, which at last will vanish of it self for want of fuel.' 'Like an Incendiary,' declared another, he was in the Highlands 'to inflame that cold Countrey; yet he finds small encouragement: The Natives there, according to their old Custom, flock to him in great Numbers, not to serve him, but to serve Themselves, by stealing his Baggage, and such other Booty as they can lay hold on; then they forsake Him and his weary Troops, which are not able to follow them. Their Horses are so jaded with constant Travel, and fainted for want of Food, that they are altogether useless. Most expect, that the Viscount and his Men will hasten to Ireland for Self-preservation.' The Clans, said another, 'are not to be regarded, for it has been, and is the fashion of that People

¹ The strength of the Clan was one thousand in 1715. It had dropped to five hundred in 1745 (*Chevalier de St. George*, p. 380). Lieutenant Colt puts its strength on this occasion at six hundred.

² Philip does not give his strength. In 1715 the Clan furnished one hundred and twenty warriors (*Chevalier de St. George*, p. 380).

³ The Macleods had not joined when Dundee returned to Lochaber in the middle of June.

⁴ The strength of his Clan was one hundred in 1715 and 1745.

⁵ I have quoted Philip's figures, but, as will appear, neither are his numbers reliable, nor were all the Clans he mentions present at this stage of the campaign.

to run together for a day or two, in hope of Spoil; and if they get it, they then run away with it, as they did lately with Dundee's Baggage; and if they get it not, they stay no longer for it.'¹ Mackay, on the spot, held other views of the situation.

With a force of less than two thousand men² Dundee set out from Mucomir on the morning of 26th May. Mackay had marched from Inverness a few hours earlier.³ A wearisome three weeks of ineffectual marching and counter-marching lay before him. Advancing along Glen-spean and skirting Loch Laggan, Dundee reached Garvemore and crossed the Spey. Moving along its left or northern bank, he passed Cluny, summoning the chief to arms, and thence to the old Castle of Raitts,⁴ where on

¹ *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 25, p. 68; No. 26, p. 69.

² Philip's account of the Highland force is not reliable. Dundee's actual strength at this period is detailed in the letter received by Melfort on 7th July (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 354). It states that Dundee marched with between two and three hundred Glengarry Macdonells, nearly two hundred Clanranald Macdonalds, nearly two hundred from Appin and Glencoe, six hundred Camerons, and two hundred Macdonalds of Keppoch—a total of about fifteen hundred. This tallies with the statement in the *Memoirs of 1714* (p. 18), that Dundee's strength was fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse. In the *Memoirs of Lockieill* (p. 240), Dundee's strength on 25th May is put at about eighteen hundred.

³ Philip's account (*Grameid*, pp. 164, 167) is clear to the fact that no advance was made from Mucomir on the 25th, and that Dundee marched towards midday on the 26th. Mackay, however (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 22), states that Dundee marched out of Lochaber on the night of the 25th and was at Garvemore next morning. On this point I take Philip to be correct.

⁴ *Grameid*, pp. 167-169. Dundee had written to Cluny on 19th May 1689: 'I will not desyr you to apear in armes untill such time as you see us in body able to preserve you, which I hop in God you shall in a few days see' (*Gleanings from the Cluny Charter Chest*, No. 2, p. 21). The exposed position of Cluny's country made caution necessary. 'The Macphersons took no decided steps in this campaign,' Canon Murdoch remarks. According to *The Loyall Dissuasive* (p. 212), two hundred Macphersons joined Dundee early in June. Canon Murdoch finds no evidence to support the statement.

Mr. Macpherson (*Gleanings*, etc., p. 7) says that the old Castle of Raitts stood upon the site of the present mansion-house of Balavil, on the north side of the Spey, within three miles of Kingussie.

29th May the anniversary of the Restoration was celebrated with some ceremony.¹ Across the river lay the Castle of Ruthven. Mackay had put a garrison of sixty men into it under Captain John Forbes, a 'brisk young man,' soon after his arrival at Inverness.² Dundee sent to demand its surrender, and commanded Keppoch to enforce it. Without prospect of relief, Forbes surrendered upon terms, and marched out, leaving the castle a blazing ruin behind him—Keppoch's handiwork.³

Meanwhile Mackay, recovered from his first panic, crept back cautiously towards his adversary. His superiority in cavalry, an easy retreat behind him, justified some hazard, he concluded. On 30th May⁴ he found himself within two miles of Dundee, who had marched from Raitts the previous (29th May) night. Reconnoitring, he found Dundee 'lay round about with a wood, and a marish within the wood, as in a double trench.' The position was not assailable, but Mackay advanced to within a mile of it, challenging attack. Failing to tempt his enemy he withdrew, in the afternoon, four miles down the valley to Alvie, where he despatched orders to Berkeley's dragoons at Forfar and Leslie's foot⁵ at Coupar Angus to

¹ Philip (*Grameid*, p. 171) pictures Dundee in scarlet uniform and olive-crowned, quaffing the King's health round a blazing bonfire!

² Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 30.

³ *Grameid*, pp. 173-176; *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 241; Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 30. Philip's account declares that Forbes held out for three days. This does not appear elsewhere. Forbes probably surrendered on the day he was summoned, for he joined Mackay on 2nd June. See below, p. 297.

⁴ The date is conjectural, but, I think, correct. Philip's account shows that Dundee marched from Raitts through the night of the 29th. Mackay's shows that Dundee was stationary throughout the day on which he came in touch with him. Philip's narrative further shows that on the 30th an alarm of Mackay's approach was raised. Both mention Lochiel's conduct in the affair, Mackay affirming that he fled at the alarm, Philip explaining that he wheeled to the rear to meet the rumoured advance of the enemy in that direction.

⁵ Sir James Leslie, or Lesley, had succeeded Colonel Kirke in the command of The Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot, now the Second of the Line. The regiment had served at Sedgemoor (Dalton, vol. ii. p. 25).

join him by way of Cairn o' Mount, and thence continued his retreat to Culnakyle, where he established his main body.¹

Dundee bivouacked on the morning of 30th May, ignorant of Mackay's nearness. An alarm had been raised during the night-march from Raitts, but his scouts had failed to locate the enemy.² The affair took place, probably, in the neighbourhood of Kincaig, and after a halt, Dundee moved on, Mackay but a few hours in front of him. At Alvie³ his advanced party came up with

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, pp. 24-27. Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone had already received orders to bring up his two troops of dragoons from Dundee.

² Dundee's panic, as Mackay reports it, bears another aspect in Philip's account (*Grameid*, p. 176). A messenger, says Philip, brought in news that the enemy were on their front and rear. Dundee and Lochiel wheeled about to face the threatened attack. David Graham and some of the foot were despatched to 'a rising ground, with a dense girdle of wood surrounding it'—a phrase very similar to Mackay's description of Dundee's camp. Scouts failed to locate the enemy. The affair probably took place in the small-hours of the 30th, when Dundee was ending his night-march. Recovered from the alarm, Dundee presumably bivouacked, and did not advance on Alvie until the afternoon. By that time Mackay had withdrawn.

A very curious expansion of Mackay's story was reported in a news-letter from Edinburgh on 4th June 1689: 'We have also the joyful News, That Major-General Mackay, with 8000 [*sic*] Horse and Foot, approached Dundee's Quarters, there being only a mile distance between them: Major-General Mackay sent a Trumpeter to Dundee, to let him know, That he was ready to fight him when he pleased; to which Dundee answered, That he would fight him the next morning early; whereupon Major-General Mackay prepared all things for the Battel; but Dundee appeared not at the time appointed, having in the night-time retired to a neighbour Wood among Mosses and Rocks almost inaccessible to single Men, much less to such a considerable Army as is necessary to follow him' (*An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 28, p. 74). Two days later the same correspondent (*ibid.*, No. 29, p. 76) assured his readers that Dundee was 'perfectly blocked up' in the wood, and that Mackay magnanimously designed to force a surrender 'without the Effusion of Blood'!

³ Philip's account of this position leads Mr. Macpherson (*Gleanings from the Cluny Charter Chest*, No. 2, p. 10) to locate it at 'the outlet from Loch Alvie to the river Spey, now crossed by a stone bridge, within two or three hundred yards from the present inn of Lynwilg.'

Mackay's rearguard, or possibly a rearguard post. Dundee hurried forward at the news.¹ But under cover of night (30th May) Mackay's detachment withdrew,² and joined his main body.

For three days Mackay remained unmolested at Culnakyle.³ His position was a good one. The Spey was in his rear. The Nethy secured his right. Abernethy Forest was on his front. And within these 'avenues' a 'pretty spacious plain' offered good ground for cavalry should he be attacked. His ally, the Laird of Grant, furnished 'as much housing as could cover' his infantry. Mackay kept his force in readiness for instant action; the horse bridled

¹ He was at the time west of Dalraddy. Dunachton, Mackintosh's castle, was in his rear. Dundee saw it in flames as he rode towards Alvie. Keppoch had set fire to it on his way from Ruthven (*Grameid*, p. 179). Keppoch had a grudge of some standing against Mackintosh. Mackintosh, having obtained letters of fire and sword, had taken possession of Keppoch's house. But on 3rd August 1688 Keppoch routed Mackintosh at Mulroy. The Council proceeded with vigour against Keppoch, and he was forced to fly. Now he had opportunity for revenge, and used it (see *The Loyall Disuasive*, ed. Canon Murdoch, pp. xlviii-xlviii).

Keppoch's well-known name 'Coll of the Cows' was given him by Dundee, because, says Lieutenant Colt, Keppoch 'found them out when they wer driven to the hills out of the way' (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 56). For his conduct at Dunachton Dundee soundly rated him (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 243).

² Mackay has no word of this episode. Philip's remark, that Alvie was abandoned at midnight, entirely harmonises with Mackay's account of his movements. According to his account it was four o'clock in the afternoon (30th May) when he withdrew from near Dundee's camp to Alvie. Philip (*Grameid*, p. 181) says that he (or his rearguard) abandoned Alvie at midnight. Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 240) confirms this view of the situation. Dundee on his march down Speyside, he says, found it 'impossible to come up with him [Mackay] till it was dark night, and the next morning he was out of his reach.' The letter to Melfort, already quoted (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 355), says that Dundee, relieved by Ramsay's retreat, 'resolved to engage M'Kay. But so soon as he heard of the march towards him, he dislodged in the night.' The Alvie incident would seem to be clearly proved.

³ He did not continue his retreat until 2nd June. The chronology suggested by Canon Murdoch in his notes to the *Grameid* for this part of the campaign is incorrect. The fact is not surprising, since neither Philip nor Mackay gives any dates.

and saddled at night; outposts on every line of approach; scouts reporting 'every two hours at least.' He received also welcome reinforcement: the two troops of dragoons from Dundee joined him immediately upon his arrival at Culnakyle. They proved a doubtful asset. Mackay was not long in ignorance of the treacherous disposition of some of their officers. Two days after their arrival his suspicions were aroused.¹ A couple of deserters from Dundee were brought into camp. Mackay was inclined to regard them as spies, and questioned them closely. One of them, lately a sergeant in Wauchope's regiment, thereupon desired to speak privately with the General. Mackay assented, and the man assured him that the greater number of Livingstone's officers were plotting to carry over the regiment to Dundee; that Dundee was sure of them, though for the present he regarded them as 'more useful to him where they were'; and that he had observed Dundee reading letters from his wife 'to the same purpose.' Mackay put the two men under guard, and consulted Sir Thomas Livingstone as to the demeanour of his regiment. Livingstone was of opinion that the rank and file were in ignorance of the plot, but admitted that the conduct of their officers had roused his suspicions, particularly since the arrival of the two troops from Dundee. Mackay gave it bluntly as his opinion that they were 'rogues.' For the moment he was not in a position to act upon it. He resolved to remain at Culnakyle, at least until the enemy drew nearer.² He was not for long left in peace.

From Alvie, meanwhile, Dundee had advanced in leisurely pursuit.³ On 31st May, seemingly, he crossed

¹ If the dragoons reached Culnakyle on 30th May—the earliest possible date—Mackay's suspicions of their loyalty were first aroused on 1st June.

² Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, pp. 27-29.

³ There is no means of accurately dating Dundee's march between his appearance at Alvie on 30th May and his getting into touch with Mackay

the Spey near Kinakyle,¹ and on 1st June felt his way warily past the dense woodlands of Abernethy. In the course of his march he learned that the dragoons from Dundee were already in Mackay's camp, and that their officers only awaited a fitting opportunity to desert to him. His informant was one Provincial, or Provensal, a sergeant of the Scots Dragoons, Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone's servant.² Provensal returned the following day, and, unfortunately for the plot, he and his companion were observed. Captain Forbes, who had recently surrendered Ruthven Castle, had been carried through Dundee's camp, and 'being licentiated,' was sent on to Mackay on the morning of 2nd June. A mile from Dundee's camp he met two men. One of them, afterwards identified as Provensal, wearing a blue uniform, challenged him. Forbes replied, *Vive le Roi Guillaume*. The other explained that he was scouting for intelligence. Forbes warned him of his danger, and hurried on towards Culnakyle, where he informed Mackay of the circumstance, and also of the preparations for an immediate advance which he had observed in Dundee's camp.³

Forbes's information was disturbing.⁴ On the heels of its scouts brought in intelligence that Dundee's force was already in motion. Mackay had no alternative to retreat.

beyond Balvenie on 3rd June. His route, however, is clearly expressed in the *Grameid*, p. 182.

¹ *flumina Spejæ Transmeat ad Coili dictum de nomine campum*. Canon Murdoch identifies the ford as Kinakyle.

² *Proceedings of Court-Martial held at Culnakyle, 8th June 1689*, in *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates*, No. 47, p. 111. For Provensal, see Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 240.

³ Mackay, *Memoirs*, pp. 30, 34. Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 241) gives a version, to some extent an incorrect one, of Provensal's visit to Dundee. According to Balhaldy, Dundee was informed that Mackay designed to attack him, though he was ignorant of his whereabouts. Dundee was therefore urged to surprise Mackay that night, and sent an answer promising to act on the information.

⁴ It is somewhat difficult to understand how Dundee could have allowed Forbes to join Mackay, if he designed to keep his movements secret.

Save the Scots Dragoons no reinforcements had reached him, and they were clearly unreliable. He was regretful to leave Grant's country at Dundee's mercy; but retreat was inevitable, and Grant concurred. He delayed his march until nightfall (2nd June) in order that the darkness might obscure the direction of his retreat.¹ Dundee was but three miles in his rear when he left Culnakyle. Marching through the night, the suspected dragoons heading the line, he passed through Cromdale, over the Avon near Ballindalloch Castle, and past Craigellachie. Not until Balvenie was reached (3rd June) did he deem it safe to pause. Scouts brought intelligence that Dundee was well in the rear. Mackay sent back a party of dragoons to confirm the intelligence. By five in the afternoon they had not returned. Alarmed at the fact, Mackay ordered the retreat to be continued, and 'notwithstanding both officers and souldiers grumbled, he would not stay till they had given their horse corn, and till the souldiers had got some bread baked.' His impatience was justified. He had passed a river a mile from camp, and was less than a mile beyond it, when Sir Thomas Livingstone, who was in the rear, observed the enemy advancing to the camping-ground Mackay had so recently abandoned, and to the ford by which he had crossed.² Sending Sir Thomas forward to lead on the main body, Mackay, with fifty or sixty horse, and as many more with which the Master of Forbes there joined him, rode to an eminence to observe Dundee's movements.

¹ Mackay, as he explains, had three avenues of retreat open to him; one to Inverness; another through Strathdon and Glenlivet to join his expected reinforcements; the third along the Spey. He chose the last.

² Having regard to the direction of Mackay's retreat, there is little question that the 'little river' he mentions was the Fiddich. He would cross it where Ford Mill is marked on the Ordnance Map. Continuing his march along its left or eastern bank, Scat Hill and Wood of Tulloch would be on his left flank. From one of its ridges, no doubt, he watched Dundee's approach to the ford which he had so lately crossed.

Major Mackay took his station on another height, whence 'he could get a nearer and more just view' of the enemy. Concluding that Mackay intended to stand, Dundee halted, formed in battle formation, crossed the river, and drew up on its eastern side. It was after sunset when the Clans began to advance. Supposing that his main body was by now two miles ahead, Mackay gave the order to follow them. His nephew lingered behind, intent upon Dundee's movements. Following in the rear of the General, he observed on a hill to his left a party of horse. In the twilight he took them to be Dundee's cavalry. They proved to be the dragoons whom Mackay had sent out for intelligence that morning. The sergeant in command of them was Provensal, Captain Forbes's 'man in blue.' 'Very ill pleased with his nephew for staying behind him,' Mackay continued his retreat. By four in the morning (4th June) he called a halt far down Strathbogie, and after a short rest advanced three miles further to Suie Hill, on the high-road between Clatt and Tullynessle.¹

Since the evening of 2nd June Dundee had pressed closely upon Mackay. Darkness alone cheated him of his prey at Balvenie.² His earlier arrival had been anti-

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, pp. 30-34.

² In the letter to Melfort the following account is given of the event: 'The Viscount pursued him [Mackay] four days; and, by an unexpected way, came in sight of him an hour before the sun set [3rd June], and pursued them so close, that parties of the Highlanders were within shot of the rear-guard, close to the main body, and dark night came on; save which, nothing could have saved them, in all human probability' (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 355). Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 242) says that Dundee came in sight of Mackay about four in the afternoon, but that it was eleven at night before he could come up with him. He states that Dundee marched 'up Glenlivet and turned down Strathdown.' Philip also describes Dundee as marching through 'the winding Glenlivet.' It seems clear that Dundee crossed Glenlivet and came up to Balvenie through Glenrinnies, the 'unexpected way' of which the letter above speaks. Dundee's motive would be to head off Mackay from the Lowlands. That this was his route is the more probable, seeing he returned by it.

icipated by his friends the dragoon officers,¹ the full measure of whose treachery was still concealed from their General. Following in the track of Mackay, Dundee advanced as far as Edinglassie (4th June) and called a halt. To venture farther upon ground favourable to Mackay's cavalry was hazardous. A suspicion that Mackay's hasty flight was designed to draw a precipitate and, in the result, possibly a fatal contest with superior numbers also suggested caution. Dundee resolved to await events.²

The relative position of the two forces was, in fact, upon the point of reversal. Dundee had driven an inferior force before him down the Spey. Mackay was now to have the satisfaction of chasing him back again. At Suie Hill, at noon on 4th June, Colonel Berkeley joined him with three hundred dragoons. At six in the evening Sir James Leslie brought up his foot, six or seven hundred strong. Mackay's horse found scanty forage, his men were hungry and unsatisfied. But Mackay was deaf to appeals for delay. Near midnight (4th June) his augmented column was once more on the move, fronting the enemy at Edinglassie. In the hope of coming upon him unawares, Mackay marched in a body, and refrained from throwing out advanced parties at any considerable distance. But his caution was again defeated by the treacherous dragoons. The ubiquitous

¹ At the court-martial held by Mackay at Culnakyle on 8th June, John Connell, a trooper in the dragoons, gave evidence that on 4th June he had been sent by two of his troop officers, Captain Murray and Lieutenant Murray, to inform Dundee that had he come up in time the night before (3rd June), 'they believed he should have had the most part of the Regiment of Scotch-Dragoons on his side' (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 47, p. 111).

² *Grameid*, p. 197. According to the letter to Melfort: 'The ground was dangerous, and the march had been long; so that the viscount thought not fit to follow further, being within three miles of Strathbogy, a plain country, where the horse and dragoons had too much advantage of the Highlanders' (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 355).

Provensal and another had been sent back to Edinglassie so soon as Mackay had received his reinforcements, and his resolution to meet Dundee was known.¹ They carried other and disturbing news which the newly arrived troops from the south had brought. The Duke of Berwick was reported to have been made prisoner; an attempted landing from Ireland had been frustrated.² Dundee did not pause upon the intelligence. The rigours of the campaign had already made inroads upon his health,³ and now that Mackay was vastly superior in cavalry, to give him battle at Edinglassie would imperil his whole scheme of nursing his resources until the expected succour from Ireland should arrive. Dundee therefore gave the order to retreat, alleging the need to join the contingents of the more distant Clans, which were already on their way. Marching throughout 5th June he did not pause until he was back in Cromdale.⁴

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 36; *The Journal of Major General Mackay's March*, dated from Alford, 9 June 1689, in *An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 31, p. 80; *ibid.*, No. 47, p. 111.

² The letter to Melfort, in Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 356. According to Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 243) Dundee was at dinner when he received the news. As a fact, the news must have reached him very early in the morning.

³ On 13th June 1689 Mackay writes to Hamilton that Dundee was said to be 'sick of a flux.' One of the prisoners taken by Mackay at Edinglassie also reported that Dundee was unwell. A newsletter of 22nd June 1689, from the North, stated that 'the great and constant Fatigues, with many other Hardships and Inconveniencies he hath gone through in his unsuccessful Rebellious Campagn, hath reduced his Body to a low and wretched state' (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 34, p. 86). Commenting on the disorderly character of his retreat from Edinglassie, the letter to Melfort remarks: 'The viscount fell sick' (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 356).

⁴ *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 243. The letter to Melfort, describing the first day's march as 'a long march,' adds that 'the Highlanders, thinking themselves masters, grew very disorderly, and plundered, without distinction, wherever they came' (Macpherson, *ibid.*). Philip (*Grameid*, p. 206) traces Dundee's retreat along the Fiddich, past Auchindoune Castle, through the *Oweni campum*, which Canon Murdoch identifies as Glenavon, and thence across the Livet to Cromdale. Philip makes much of a night alarm, caused by a flock of sheep, after the day's march was over.

Meanwhile Mackay, some eight miles short of Edinglassie, had learnt of Dundee's retreat. Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, who accompanied Mackay, Major Mackay and others rode forward. They found Edinglassie House in ruins. In the woods about it they made important captures of stragglers whom Dundee's rapid retreat had left behind. With them also were a couple of Livingstone's dragoons. The time had come to crush the conspiracy in which the officers of that regiment had been engaged. The captive dragoons confessed their part in it. Their fellow-prisoners incriminated Provensal. Mackay hesitated no longer. On his arrival at Edinglassie he arrested Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone and his associates.¹ About four in the afternoon he continued his march to Balvenie, and halted for the night.²

After the long march of the 5th, Dundee made a short march on 6th June to Abernethy.³ Mackay advanced

¹ The officers arrested, in addition to Livingstone, were Captain Livingstone, Captain Murray, Lieutenant Murray, and Captain-Lieutenant Creighton. They were court-martialled at Culnakyle on 8th June, and reached Edinburgh and were committed to prison on 22nd June (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., pp. 80, 83, 111). Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone seems not to have been an active instigator of the plot (Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 244; *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 182). Sir John Dalrymple, writing on 25th July 1689, pleaded for Livingstone, whose exchange for Blair of Blair had been suggested. He advised that undue severity should not be used, on the ground that 'we have not yett heard of great severitys on the other syd.' He suggested that 'Provinciall, a papist, who was the most guilty,' might 'serve for an example' (*ibid.*, p. 194). Creighton complacently records (*Swift's Works*, vol. x. p. 182) that Dundee wrote to Hamilton to threaten that 'if (to use his own homely expression) they touched a hair of his [Creighton's] tail, he would cut the laird of Blair, and the laird of Pollock, joint by joint, and would send their limbs in hampers to the Council.' The story is of value merely as an indication of Creighton's desire to represent his own importance.

² Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 37; *An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 31, p. 80.

³ *Grameid*, p. 209. The letter to Melfort (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 356) says that on the second and third days of the retreat from Edinglassie 'the viscount did not march six miles in all.' The fact was partly due to Dundee's illness, partly to the plundering

close on his rear to Culnakyle on the same day.¹ On the following night² (7th June) Sir Thomas Livingstone came unexpectedly upon a party of Macleans seeking Dundee's camp. The party, led by Hector Maclean, younger of Lochbuy, had been foraging for meal when Livingstone discovered them. The Macleans were marching in an extended column. Some fled at Livingstone's onslaught. A hundred or so of them kept together, and gaining the foot of a neighbouring hill, held their assailants at bay until the morning (8th June), when with a charge they broke through the ring of foes and gained the camp, whence Dundee had already advanced to meet them.³ While Mackay was engaged in the court-

habits of the Clans. An officer with Mackay, who computed Dundee's numbers as not exceeding two thousand men, including three troops of horse under Dundee, Dunfermline, and Pitcur, numbering one hundred and twenty, added that 'the Baggage Horse and their Plunder did make a great show' (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 31, p. 80).

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 38.

² From the letter to Melfort, the Knockbrecht incident clearly took place on the evening or night of the third day's march from Edinglassie.

³ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 356. According to this account Maclean's casualties were 'not above four,' while his assailants lost their captain, lieutenant, and eleven more. In another account (*ibid.*, p. 360) Maclean is said to have lost five men, and his assailants their two officers and fifteen men. According to Mackay (*Memoirs*, p. 38), he captured eighty or one hundred of the Macleans. His own losses were 'a captain of Barclay's regiment, with six dragoons of both the regiments killed, and some wounded.' The *Grameid* (p. 213) gives the captain's name as Owinstone, of Richborough. Elsewhere, in a letter of intelligence to the Queen, dated 15th December 1689 (Macpherson, *ibid.*, p. 368), his name is given as Waine. His name, in fact, was Anthony Ovington. See Dalton, vol. ii. pp. 12, 128.

The scene of the engagement cannot clearly be determined. The only clues are in Balhaldy, who calls the hill Knockbrecht (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 244), and Mackay's account, which describes Maclean as being 'on the other side of the river.' Canon Murdoch supposes Mackay to mean the Spey. But I am inclined to think that Mackay refers to the Nethy. It lay between Mackay at Culnakyle and Dundee's camp. Knockbrecht, the hill where Maclean made his stand, is not upon the Ordnance Map. But its locality is perhaps indicated by Robreck, which lies north-west of Boat of Garten, on the fringe of Abernethy Forest.

martial upon the dragoon officers (8th June), Dundee continued his retreat to Ruthven, where he learned that Colonel Ramsay, once deterred, had on the second attempt succeeded in passing Badenoch to Inverness.¹ As they neared their own country the Clans slipped away with their booty. Dundee pressed for an advance to Rannoch, where he could take 'strong ground near the low countries.' But the 'Lochaber men were going away every night by fortys and fiftys, with droves of cattle, and finding all the rest loaden with plunder of Grant's lands, and others would needs go home,' Dundee abandoned his project, and continued his retreat to Lochaber.² He halted at Keppoch on the way thither, and on 11th June returned to his old quarters near Glenroy, his host Lochiel declaring that 'while there was a cow in Lochaber, neither he nor his men should want.'³ Mackay, still plodding in his rear, was joined by Ramsay, and followed to the fringe of Lochaber. Finding the Highlanders dispersed he withdrew to Inverness, 'where he staid the matter of a fortnight, to see if the ennemy would undertake any thing further, and to settle the

¹ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 357. Ramsay had left Blair on his way to Inverness before 4th June (Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 223).

² Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 357.

³ *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 247. For the date 11th June, I rely on a letter of intelligence to James, dated (as Macpherson prints it, vol. i. p. 359) 'the 4th June.' It announces that reinforcements had 'just now' arrived in Badenoch, and had met Dundee 'on his way to Lochaber.' As Dundee on 4th June was on the other side of Scotland, the proper date of the letter is obviously not 'the 4th June.' Its true date is indicated by its reference to the Knockbrecht incident as having occurred 'three days ago.' As the Knockbrecht incident occurred on the 7th, the above letter was dated on the 9th or 10th. The former seems the more probable; a 'ix.' might easily be mistaken for a 'iv.' Dundee, I suggest, was at Ruthven on the night of the 8th; he spent two nights at Keppoch, according to Balhaldy. On the 11th, if my suggestion is tenable, he would be back in Glenroy. Lieutenant Colt, who returned to Lochaber with him, was sent prisoner to Mull about 10th June (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix., App. p. 55).

necessary orders.'¹ The first round of the campaign was over, and inconclusive.²

Until almost the eve of Killiecrankie Dundee remained in Lochaber, nursing the Clans, expectant of help from Ireland, and, so far as his letters reveal him, fortified by a boundless optimism and assurance that the cause he represented was the cause that would triumph. Though the Clans which had accompanied him to Edinglassie had for the most part disbanded, the nucleus of an army was still round him. Sir Alexander Maclean and four hundred of his name had joined Dundee on his return to Lochaber. They, with the three troops of horse, were kept by Dundee with him 'until news from his Majesty' should arrive, and another rendezvous for the Clans be appointed.³ Newsmongers at Edinburgh reported him starving in Lochaber, or predicted his imminent capture by Highland

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 40. He had returned to Inverness before 14th June (*ibid.*, p. 230). Several despatches not printed in his *Memoirs* are calendared in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xi., pt. vi. pp. 179-180.

In regard to his disposal of the troops with him, Mackay, about 9th June, had sent Colchester's horse, escorting Livingstone and the other dragoon officers, from Culnakyle to the south to join the rest of the regiment. After Dundee's retreat into Lochaber, Mackay sent Berkeley's regiment to Strathbogie, Ramsay with the two hundred of the Scots Brigade to Elgin, and took with himself to Inverness Leslie's infantry regiment, two hundred of Leven's and one hundred of Hastings's regiments (both of which had been brought up by Ramsay), Livingstone's dragoons, and the two hundred Highlanders who had been with him on the Spey (Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 40). The Earl of Leven's regiment had been quite recently levied. It was called, and continued until 1782 to be denominated, 'The Edinburgh Regiment.' It is now the Twenty-fifth of the Line. The MS. record of the regiment is preserved in the War Office.

² The Government had gained one success. On 13th June 1689 the Duke of Gordon surrendered Edinburgh Castle.

³ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 359. Balhaldy states, that a few days after Dundee's return to Lochaber, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat with about seven hundred, and the Captain of Clanranald with about six hundred men arrived (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 248). Clanranald had in fact arrived by 23rd June, but Sir Donald was still expected on that date.

chiefs who had sworn to bring him in dead or alive!¹ Dundee awaited patiently the summons to further service, drilled his men,² and tactfully composed such differences as arose from time to time among his quarrelsome allies.³

At length on 22nd June a much belated communication from James in Ireland reached Dundee.⁴ Instantly he prepared to take the field. The Laird of Macleod, who had not yet come out, had an immediate summons from him. His letter⁵ affords a complete insight into the position as it presented itself to him, and the resources wherewith he hoped to cope with it. 'Glengaire [Glen-garry] gave me an account of the substance of a letter he received from yow,' he wrote: 'I shall only tell yow, that if yow heasten not to land your men, I am of opinion yow will have litle occasion to do the King great service; for if he land in the wesst of Scotland, yow will come too late, as I believe yow will thienk yourself by the news I have to tell yow.' Mackay had withdrawn his troops to Edinburgh, he continued; the French were ready to throw forces into England or Ireland; Londonderry, whose siege had so far detained the King, was upon the point of surrender. 'The King,' therefore, 'being thus master by sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed alraidy in the west. He will have litle to oppose him

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xii., pt. vii. pp. 246, 247. Dundee was not alone in furnishing material for fiction. On 7th June 1689 it was gravely reported in London that Mackay had killed 'a French gentleman in a duel and absconds for it'! (*ibid.*, p. 244).

² Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 252) avers that Dundee abandoned his proposal to exercise the Clans in military tactics in deference to Lochell's opposition.

³ See *ibid.*, p. 252, for an incident which threatened to embroil the Camerons and Macdonells.

⁴ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 360. Hay was the bearer.

⁵ Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 38. It is dated from Moy, in Lochaber, 23rd June 1689.

there, and probably will march towards England; so that we who are in the graitest readiness will have ado to join him. I have receaved by Mr. Hay a commission of Lievtennent General, which miscairied by Breidy.¹ I have also receaved a double of a letter miscairied by Breidy to me, and a new letter, dated the 18 of May, both of which are so kind, that I am asham'd to tell. He [James] counts for great services, which I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my deutie. He promises not only to me, but to all that will join, such marks of favour as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is in being loyall. He sayes, in express terms, that his favours shall vy with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters, given full power of Councell to such councellers here, as shall be joined in the King's service, and given us power, with the rest of his freends, to meet in a Convention, by his authority, to counteract the mock Convention at Edin^r, whom he hath declaired traitours, and comanded all his loyall subjects to make warr against them; in obedience to which, I have called all the clannes. Captain of Glenrannald is near us these severall dayes; the Laird of Baro² is there³ with his men. I am perswaded Sir Donald [Macdonald of Sleat] is there by this. M'Clean⁴ lands in Morven to-morrow certainly. Apen, Glenco, Lochell, Glengaire, Keppock, are all raidy. Sir Alex^r [Maclean] and Largo⁵ have been here with there men all this while with me, so that I hope we will

¹ See above, p. 264.

² Macneil of Barra.

³ i.e. at the place appointed for the rendezvous. Writing to Mackay from Inverness on 25th June 1689, David Ross of Balnagown reported that 'from severall certane hands it is confirmed that the morn being Thursday [27th June] ther is ane generall randevoze . . . to hold at Invergerrie' (Fraser, *The Melvilles and Leslies*, vol. ii. p. 113).

⁴ Sir John Maclean of Duart. Philip's account, already quoted, erroneously represents him as being with Dundee during the Edinglassie campaign.

⁵ Alexander Macdonald of Largo.

go out of Lochaber about thre thousand. Yow may judge what we will gett in Strathharig, Badenock,¹ Athol, Marr, and the Duke of Gordon's lands, besides the loyall shires of Bamf, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, Pearth, and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the north, as the King's army will be of the south.' 'Now,' he concluded, 'I have layd the whole business befor yow, yow will easily know what is fitt for yow to do.' Such was the plan; the Clans in Scotland, James in England, France assisting, were to drive back 'our ironical Dutch saviour,' as another Jacobite called William, to the land whence he had come. Dundee contributed an effort, James not a whit, to the joint project.

To Macnachtan of Dunderaw Dundee wrote in similar strain.² His lands lay dangerously near the Campbells. 'It will be hard for you to rease your regiments,' Dundee admitted; 'houever doe your best, a man that has good will will fynd ways. So I desyr you will gate ready, as soon as you can, all your name follouers and kyndly men, wherever they ar, and march them this way. Concert with Makdougell that you may come together, and then Apen may come with you. Lait me know when you hear any newes. I have received letters by tuo different expresses from Yrland; all goes there to our wish, only Darie³ has been obstinat, but it is over befor nou, which is the only reason we have not had forces from theme. My lord Melfort says that befor his come to my hands,

¹ As to the Macphersons, Cluny wrote to Mackay on 25th June 1689, professing his attachment to the Protestant interest, but stating that he was—conveniently—indisposed and unable to ride (Fraser, *The Melvilles and Leslies*, vol. ii. p. 114). On 7th July 1689 an express reached Edinburgh from the North bearing information that Dundee had summoned Cluny to join him under threat of destroying his country (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 37, p. 92).

² British Museum, *Addit. MSS.* 12,068, fol. 137. The letter is dated from Locheil, 28th June 1689.

³ Londonderry.

tho dated the 1 of June, relief will come to us ; so if you be vexed by your neighbours, it is on confort it will not be long.'

To Melfort, taking advantage of Hay's return, Dundee wrote in a different strain :¹—

MOY, IN LOCHABER, *June 27th, 1689.*

MY LORD,

I was not a little surprized to find, by yours, that my name has been made use of, for carrying on designs against you. Mr. Carleton² is extremely in the wrong, if he says I gave him any commission to the King, or warrant to say any thing to him, in my name. Earl Bredalbin sent him to me, with a credential, which he desired me to burn so soon as I had read it. I had never seen the man in the face before, nor heard of him. He was not two hours in my company ; and, when he gave me account of his pretended business to Ireland, I disliked most of it, as I signified to you, by M'Swyne ; nor did I give him so much as a line with him, that I remember. I leave you to judge, if it be probable, that I would intrust myself so far to any in such circumstances, as to employ him in so nice and dangerous a point as that is, of accusing so great a man, and so much my friend as you are, to the King. If I had any such design, I would rather have trusted myself to the King, and written frankly to himself. I will assure you, all my endeavours to lay you aside were only to yourself. I thought myself bound in duty to the King and friendship to you, not to dissemble to you the circumstances you stand in with the generality of this country and many in the neighbouring. Your merit and rising fortune has raised envy ; your favour with the King is crime enough with his enemies, and I am feared, even with his

¹ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 360. Burnet fully confirms the attitude towards Melfort and his policy which is indicated in Dundee's letter. Dundee, he writes (*History of My Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 36), 'sent several Messengers over to Ireland, pressing King James to come, either to the North of England, or to Scotland. But, at the same time he desired, that he would not bring the Lord Melfort over with him, or employ him more in Scotch Business ; and that he [James] would be contented with the exercise of his own Religion. It may be easily supposed, that all this went against the grain with King James, and that the Lord Melfort disparaged all the Earl [sic] of Dundee's undertakings.'

² Thomas Carleton writes to Breadalbane from Dublin on 18th June 1689. See Fraser, *McVilles and Leslies*, vol. ii. p. 108.

ambitious friends, which I am sure can never be imagined to be one with me: for I can never have any pretensions in your way.¹ Besides, you have contributed to all the considerable steps of my fortune; but I must tell you, that besides these generals, there are many pretend to have received disobligations from you, and others, no doubt, with design on your employment; yet the most universal pretext is, the great hand you had in carrying on matters of religion, as they say, to the ruin of the King and country. I must tell you, I heard a great resentment against you, for advising the giving the bulls for the bishops, and I am feared they themselves believe it. You know what the Church of England is in England; and, both there and here, they generally say, that the King of himself is not disposed to push matters of religion, or force people to do things they scrupled in conscience; but that you, to gain favour with these of that religion, had proved and prevailed with him, contrary to his inclination to do what he did, which has given his enemies occasion to destroy him and the monarchy. This being, as I assure you it is, however unjust, the general opinion of these nations, I thought, in prudence, for your own sake as well as the King's, you would have thought it best to seem to be out of business for a time; that the King's business might go the smoother, and all pretext be taken away for rebellion; and this only, in case the King find difficulties in his affairs: for I am obliged to tell you, that if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithstanding of all the foreign aid, a long war. But I think you may come over; and, when you have seen the state of affairs in the place, and spoke with every body, you may think what will be best for you to do. You desire me to recommend a proper man to be secretary. You know it is hard to do. But, if you really resolve not to seem to meddle, I would, were I you, advise the King to employ one, to be turned out when things altered, [which] would not much disoblige, or could have no consequence. But I think I have said enough, if not too much of this.

My lord, I have given the King, in general, account of things here; but to you I will be more particular. As to myself, I have sent you it at large.² You may by it understand a little

¹ i.e. to the Secretaryship of State.

² This is certainly the long letter of intelligence, received by Melfort on 7th July 1689, printed by Macpherson (vol. i. p. 352), which has been referred to already.

of the state of the country. You will see there, when I had a seen advantage, I endeavoured to profit on it ; but, on the other hand, shunned to hazard any thing, for fear of a ruffle : for the least of that would have discouraged all. I thought, if I could gain time, and keep up a figure of a party, without loss, it was my best, till we got assistance, which the enemy got from England every day. I have told the King, I had neither commission, money, nor ammunition. My brother-in-law, Albar,¹ and my wife found ways to get credit. For my own, nobody durst pay to a traitor. I was extremely surprised, when I saw Mr. Drummond, the advocate, in Highland habit, come up to Lochaber to me, and gave account, that the Queen had sent 2000*l.* sterling to London, to be paid to me for the King's service, and that two more was a coming. I did not think the Queen had known any thing of our affairs. I received a very obliging letter from her, with Mr. Crain ;² but I know no way to make a return. However, when the money comes, I shall keep count of it, and employ it right. But I am feared, it will be hard to bring it from Edinburgh. When we came first out, I had but fifty pound of powder ; more I could not get ; all the great towns and sea-ports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broadsword. But I wonder, above all things, that, in three months, I never heard from you, seeing by Mr. Hay I had so earnestly recommended it to you, and told of this way by Inverlochie, as sure, if you would not have sent expresses, we thought you would, at least, have hastened the despatch of these we sent. M'Swyne has now been away near two months, and we know not if the coast be clear or not. However, I have adventured to advise Mr. Hay to return streight, and not go farther in the country. It would have been impossible for him to get through to Edinburgh ; but there was no need. He came not here until the 22d, and they³ surrendered on the 13th. It was not Mr. Hay's fault, he was so long a coming ; for there has been two English men of war and the Glasgow frigates⁴ amongst the

¹ Dundee's sister, Anne, married, about 1666, Robert Young of Auldbar.

² He had also brought over James's letter to the Convention. See above, p. 255.

³ The Duke of Gordon and garrison of Edinburgh Castle.

⁴ On 13th April 1689 Captain William Hamilton of Ladyland and

islands, till of late. For the rest of the letters, I undertook to get them delivered. Most of the persons to whom they are directed are either put under bond, or in prison, or gone out of the kingdom. The advocate¹ is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too,² who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh; but will be let out, on security. Earl Bredalbin keeps close in a strong house he has, and pretends the gout. Earl Errol stays at home; so does Aberdeen. Earl Marshal is at Edinburgh; but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally stand right. Duke Queensberry was present at the cross, when their new mock King was proclaimed; and, I hear, voted for him, tho' not for the throne vacant. His brother, the lieutenant general, some say, is made an Earl.³ He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely; for he swore to me to make amends.

Tarbat is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochail, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting.⁴ The two Dalrymples and others against Skelmurly, Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others, now joined with that worthy prince, duke Hamilton. M[arquise] Douglas is now a great knave, as well as beast, as is Glencairne, Morton and Eglinton; and even Cassills is gone

Captain John Brown of Irvine were commissioned to command two frigates to cruise on the west coast (*Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 44). One of the frigates was named the *Pelican* (*ibid.*, p. 53).

¹ Sir George Mackenzie.

² The Marchioness writes from Bath on 13th July 1689: 'Since my Lord pumped his head, there is falln so sad a defluxion in one eye, y^t since Saturday last he has not bin able to looke up, eat, drink, or sleep' (*Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. i. p. 285).

³ In March 1690 Lieut.-General Douglas's creation as Earl of Dundee was rumoured (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1689-1690, p. 521).

⁴ On or about 30th May 1689 Mackay had reported unfavourably on Tarbat's disposition (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 232). On 1st June 1689 Hamilton reports the Council's resolution to apprehend Tarbat, and also Lord Lovat, whom Mackay had also complained of (*ibid.*, p. 223).

astray, misled by Gibby.¹ Panmure keeps right, and at home ; so does Strathmore, Southesk and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh, under caution ; so is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive, for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the mean time, and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The Duke of Gordon, they say, wanted nothing for holding out, but hopes of relief. Earl of Dumfermling stays constantly with me, and so does lord Dunkell,² Pitcur, and many other gentlemen, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land, there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot for them, and others that will join. There must be a commission of justiciary, to judge all but landed men ; for there would be examples made of some that cannot be judged by a council of war. They take our people and hang them up, by their new sheriffs, when they find them straggling.

My lord, I have given my opinion to the King concerning the landing. I would first have a good party sent over to Inverlochie, about 5000 or 6000, as you have conveniency of boats ; of which, as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well ; but rather more ; for had I had horse, for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochie is safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may chuse, from thence, to go to Murray by Inverness, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the passage is long by sea and inconvenient, because of the island ; but, in this season, that is not to be feared. So soon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit to the Point of Kintyre, which will soon be done ; and then the King has all the boats for his own landing. I should march towards Kintyre, and meet, at the Neck of Tarbitt, the foot, and so march to raise the country, and then towards the passes of Forth to meet the King, where I doubt not but we would be numerous. I have done all I can to make them believe the King will land altogether in the West, on purpose to draw their troops from the North, that we may the

¹ Bishop Gilbert Burnet.

² James Galloway, third Baron of Dunkeld.

easier raise the country, if the landing be here. I have said so, and written it to every body; and particularly, I sent some proclamations to my lady Errol, and wrote to her to that purpose, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh, and my lady taken prisoner. I believe it has taken the effect I designed; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am just now informed, M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverness by Murray towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet; but it is thought, he will take the horse and dragoons, except a few, and most of the standing forces; which, if he do, it will be a rare occasion for landing here, and for raising the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the King's landing. Some think Ely a convenient place for landing, because you have choice of what side, and the enemy cannot be on both: others think the nearer Galloway the better, because the rebels will have far to march before they can trouble you: others think Kirkcudbright, or thereabouts, because of that sea for ships, and that it is near England. Nobody expects any landing here now, because it is thought you will alter the design, it having been discovered; and to friends and all, I give out I do not expect any. So I am extremely of opinion, this would be an extreme proper place, unless you be so strong that you need not care where to land. The truth is, I do not admire their mettle. The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almost forgot to tell you that P—— O——, as they say, has written to his Scotch Council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harrassed following me through the hills;¹ but orders them to draw to the west, where, he says, a great army is to land; and, at the same time, gives them accounts, that eight sail of men of war is coming from Brest, with 15,000 men on board. He knows not whether they are designed for England or Ireland. I beg you will send an express, before whatever you do, that I may know how to take my measures; and, if the express that comes knows nothing, I am sure it shall not be discovered for me. I have told Mr. Hay nothing of this proposal, nor no man. If there come any party this way, I beg you, send us ammunition, and three or four thousand arms of different sorts, some horse, some foot. I have just now received a confirmation of M'Kay's going South, and that he

¹ Lord Melville communicated William's instruction to this effect to Mackay on 4th June 1689 (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1689-1690, p. 135).

takes with him all the horse and dragoons, and all the standing foot; by which I conclude, certainly, they are preparing against the landing in the West. I entreat to hear from you as soon as possible; and am, in the old manner, most sincerely, for all Carleton can say, My Lord, your most humble and faithful servant,

DUNDIE.

Some important conclusions are obvious from Dundee's letter. His antipathy to the philo-Catholic policy of Melfort was profound. His conviction that James's interests demanded a withdrawal alike of the policy and of the Minister whom public opinion identified as the inspirer of it, was equally so. That he believed James in a position to send him considerable succours is equally clear. That, in the endeavour to enlist the Clans, he had exaggerated the probability of James's arrival from Ireland, is not less patent. None the less he counted with certainty upon James's ability to send him such a reinforcement, in cavalry at least, as should relieve him, in the wider campaign now imminent, of the disadvantages under which he had conducted the smaller venture against Mackay towards Edinglassie. The ink was barely dry before he sat down to drive home, in another letter, the points upon which he was most insistent:—¹

[28th June 1689.]

MY LORD,—

After Mr. Hay was dispatched I was informed, that Achtera and major Farchar's son were landed, so sent and stopt Mr. Hay and came down here to know what news they brought. I am very glad to hear by your lordship's, that the King's affairs prosper so well and that Derry will soon be ours. But I hear it was not on Monday last. I know not what the matter is; but I would think Mackay's going south and the troops drawing back from Kintyre towards Edinburgh would import some alarm they have got. I have so often written over all that Derry was ours, that now, say what I like, they hardly believe,

¹ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 366. The letter is not dated, but it is endorsed 'My Lord Dundee's letter, June 28, 1689.'

and when I talk of relief out of Ireland, they laugh at it, though I believe ere long they will find it earnest, and then our enemy's confusion will be great. As to the places of landing, I am still of the same mind. For the number I must leave to the conveniency you have. The only inconveniency of the delay is, that the honest suffer extremely in the low countrys in the time, and I dare not go down for want of horse, and in part, for fear of plundering all, and so making enemys, having no pay. I wonder you send no ammunition, were it but 4 or 5 barrells. For we have not 20 pound. As to yourself, I have told you freely my opinion, and am still of the same mind. You desire I may tell you your faults. I use to see none in my friends, and for to tell you what others find when I do not believe them, were to lose time. But I must tell you many of them who complained of you, have carried themselves so, that what they say deserves not much to be noticed. However, they have poisoned the generality with prejudice against you, and England will, I am afraid, be uneasier to you than Scotland. It is the unjustest thing in the world, that not being popular must be an argument to be laid aside by the King. I do really think it were hard for the King to do it; but glorious for you, if once you be convinced that the necessity of the King's affairs requires it, to do it of yourself and beg it of him. But this only, as I said in my last, in case of great difficulties, and in the way I advised, which I think the King will not refuse you; I mean as to filling up of the place; for the King may have enemys, some by your continuing; but he may put in one who may ruin all, which I am sure, if he gave it to some that pretends, it would I am afraid certainly fall out. I wonder you could have the least thought that I would concert with any body against you, having parted so good friends. I spoke not to Dunmore since he came from London. I mind not I spoke of you to Bredalbine. I remember when I was endeavouring to make friends for the King in the country and in the convention, many did tell me, that there would be no living if you returned; so when no arguments for you could prevail, I have, may be, to smooth them, said, that if all were well, you would be prevailed with not to meddle any more. I would have written letters of encouragement to all the King has written to from yourself, and assured them of your friendship and satisfied them of your real designs of living and letting live every one in their own way in matters of religion,

which would mightily allay, I think, as to Scotland, and let them see you do favours to cavaliers and to Protestants. For some steps, that may be you was forced to make in favours of these ungrate beasts the Presbyterians, you gave unhappy umbrage to both the other, but they were fools; for never will they get one whose family, education, and inclination, is so cavalier. They long at the King's restoration to have a Lauderdale to destroy Middleton and poor suffering cavaliers. Let not this be their plague. I am sure you shall be sure of all my endeavours for to bring the minds of people to reason. If you will allow, I will say, that though you come to see the King once landed, you design not to stay, unless you think that you may unbolden your enemys. I give my humble service to my lady, and am, My Lord, your most humble and faithful servant,

DUNDIE.

Dundee's standpoint at this supreme crisis is clear. In the light of it Killiecrankie becomes a desperate, isolated, venture, whose result, had he lived to witness his victory, Dundee could hardly have estimated as contributing in great degree to the victory of the cause. For the present he awaited the promised, and, as they proved, inadequate succours. His adversaries, fully informed upon his probable action, took immediate steps to counter his anticipated movements. On 5th July the Earl of Argyll was commissioned to raise his country, to harry the Clans whom Dundee might enlist in his cause.¹ From the North, equally, Dundee had warning. Sutherland from Inverness, backed by Lord Strathnaver, advised him to abandon a hopeless cause.² Dundee, undaunted, replied to the latter: ³ 'I am sorry your lordship should be so far

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. x., pt. i. p. 39*; *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 135; *An Account of the Proceedings, etc.*, No. 34, p. 86.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. ii., p. 178.*

³ *Fraser, Sutherland Book*, vol. ii. p. 42. The letter is dated 'Strouan [in Lochaber], July 15, 1689.' Napier, throughout this part of his narrative, incorrectly supposes Dundee to have been quartered with Robertson of Struan, not far from Blair.

abused as to think that there is any shadou of apearance of stability in this newe structure of government these men have framed to themselves. They made you, I dout not, believe that Darie was relieved 3 weeks agoe, by printed accounts, and I can assure you it never was, and nou is taken.¹ They told you the Inglish fleet and Dutch wer mesters at sea. I knou for certain the French is, and in the Chanel; in testimony wherof they have defeated our Scots fleet; for as they came alongst, they fell on the tuo frigats, killed the captains, and seised the ships, and broght the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Yrland, to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces here, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west, whom I am sorry for, very soon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and treu prospect of affaires, which I am feared amongst your folks you ar not used with, I leave you to judge if I or you, your family or myn, be most in denger.' Dundee's assurance was incorrigible, or consummately feigned.

¹ Dundee is misinformed. Derry was relieved after his own death.

CHAPTER XVI

KILLIECRANKIE

DUNDEE'S mind contemplated a wide and irresistible campaign. 'All the world will be with us, blissed be God' was the burden of perhaps the last letter he wrote. That Londonderry had fallen, that James's ships were turned towards England, that France was roused to serious effort, he believed, at least averred, to the end. Letters insistent upon an assured victory flowed from his prolific pen. Friendly chiefs were encouraged, the more backward were lectured into loyalty. His optimism was strengthened by the knowledge that James had learned the unwisdom of his earlier courses; that Melfort was discredited, and an over-riding Roman policy discarded. Death struck him down on the threshold of a prospect which broadened hopefully before him. The wide campaign was not set, its armies not in place. His own death pricked the bubble.

Dundee made the first step towards Killiecrankie on 9th July 1689, when he ordered Patrick Steuart of Ballechin to hold Blair Castle for the King.¹ The Marquis was sagaciously at Bath 'pumping his head.' His son, Murray, was on the spot, and active in the Government's interest. To Dundee it was vital that Atholl, linking friendly Badenoch to the Low country, should remain in friendly hands. Ballechin easily gained access to the

¹ *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. i. p. 294. Ballechin's formal commission was not dated until 21st July 1689. See Napier, vol. iii. p. 617.

Castle on the plea of strengthening the garrison, and at once acted in accordance with Dundee's commission.¹ The neighbouring lairds were bidden to second him. 'I am sure the King is just at the landing,' Dundee wrote to two of them on 10th July.² 'The enemy knows this, and are now designing, I hear, to make a last endeavor, being in despair to prosper if the King land.' Pitcur would direct them to a rendezvous. 'You need not have the least apprehension,' Dundee assured them; 'I will bring such a body of men to your immediate assistance as will confound all the enemies dares appear. . . . I am resolved that whoever refuses, in any part of the kingdom, to join the King's standard, at my call, who have his Majesty's commission and authority to make war, I will hold them as traitors, and treat them as enemies.'

Three days after giving Ballechin his orders, Dundee received the modest reinforcement which the King, whose strength he trumpeted so confidently, alone could send him. On 12th July Colonel Alexander Cannon arrived at Duart in Mull.³ He had received a warrant on 1st July to embark at Belfast or Carrickfergus 'upon our frigates commanded by Sieur Du Quesne,' and upon his arrival in Scotland to place himself under Dundee's orders.⁴ Du Quesne sailed from Carrickfergus on 10th

¹ *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. i. p. 286. Before 5th June 1689 Murray had put a garrison of twenty-five men into Blair Castle, and had arranged for a similar number 'to run in on the first advertisement of any armies approaching' (*ibid.*, p. 282. See *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 40.)

² *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. i. p. 284. The letter is dated from Strone in Lochnaber, 10th July 1689. It was addressed to Leonard Robertson of Straloch and John Robertson of Bleatoun. The former of them informed Lord John Murray on 14th July 1689 that '300 hundreds [sic] of Kintyrmens and hilanders come yeaste night to Blair Atholl and joyned Pitcurr, who lyet there with his associates' (*ibid.*).

³ *Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle*, No. 2, p. 22.

⁴ Fraser, *The Melvilles and the Leslies*, vol. ii. p. 33.

July, and during the short passage, fell in with and captured the *Pelican*, frigate, and her consort, after an engagement in which both their captains were killed.¹ Cannon landed one regiment, seventy-four officers, and thirty-five barrels of powder, ball, match, and flints.² Between 14th and 18th July he joined Dundee in Glenroy.³

It may be doubted whether Dundee viewed with satisfaction aught but the ammunition which Cannon's arrival added to his scanty store.⁴ But Cannon was a clear if tardy mark of James's interest, and Dundee made the most of it. On 14th July he sent the news to Cluny, adding: 'So, with the assistance of Almighty God we will now in a verie short time see our Gracious King restored to the Throne of his Ancestors.' A postscript hinted the consequences of backwardness in service: 'Sir, this I wryt to you to be comunicat to all the gentrey of Badenoch, so call them together; for from the head to the foot I will spair non that joyns not. The gentrey must

¹ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 214.

² *Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle*, No. 2, p. 23. Hamilton, on 13th July, sent a 'flying packet' with the news to Melville at London (*Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 170).

³ This appears from the letters of Dundee to Cluny on these dates. See below. 'An Account of Dundees Officers after they went to France' is printed in Mr. Jenner's edition of the *Memoirs* of 1714, p. 73.

In *The Loyall Disuasive* (p. liv.), a letter from Cannon to Cluny, dated 'Dunan, July 4th 1689,' is printed. The date is certainly incorrect. As to 'Dunan,' Canon Murdoch suggests that it is a copyist's mistake for Strone. I suggest that Dunart is intended. Cannon's opening sentence seems to imply that Dundee was then with him. Dundee was at Strone on 14th and 18th July. He may have ridden to meet Cannon in the interval. On 20th July Argyll reported Dundee to be at Inverlochry (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.* xi., pt. vi. p. 183). He had probably met Cannon there a few days before. He was at Strone on 20th July.

⁴ Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 257) contemptuously dismisses Cannon's reinforcement as consisting of 'three hundred new-raised, naked, undisciplined Irishmen; which had this bad effect, that the Clans, who had been made believe they were to be supported by a powerfull army from Ireland, with arms, ammunition, and all other provisions, saw themselves miserably dissappointed.' He adds, that Cannon loitered so long in Mull that two of the transports which had brought him over were captured by the enemy.

march themselves, and I expect 400 men, and no expenses will be allowed. McIntosh, Grants, and all must come out.' ¹ Cluny, sitting uneasily between the devil and the deep sea, was pertinaciously wooed. On 18th July Dundee tackled him again: 'I have a letter all written with the King's own hand, assuring me of mor assistance imediatly, and he is just ready to land; the french fleet having bate the dutch and kepted the inglish in. The french have 15,000 men aboard and 30,000 camped at Dunkerk waiting only if the King has use for them.' 'All mankynd almost,' he added, 'nou beggs our asistance, and you will see a great apearance. All behynd you ar here saive M'cklowd, who is coming. E[arl] Seaforth is to land in his oun contrey, and has undertaken to rease 3 regiments. I dessein to march on Saturday or Munday.' ² I would not have delayed so long had it not been that the Yrish forces could not conveniently cross from Mull because of the great wynds. I expect you will have all your contrey in armes on munday, and I shall send you word where to joyn us. Nobody offers to sit my sumonds, so I expect that you will not. . . . This I desyr you will comunicat to the rest of the gentry of the contrey; and befor Sundays night, lait me have your positive answer in wryt, not by proxie, and that signed, or I will not notice it.' ³

Meanwhile the situation was developing to a crisis around Blair Castle. Before the end of May, Lord John Murray had met the Atholl vassals and had ordered them 'to live peaceably and join with non without orders.' ⁴ Ballechin's mutinous conduct was most untimely. With-

¹ *Gleanings from the Charter Chest of Cluny Castle*, No. 2, p. 22. The letter is dated from Strone in Lochaber.

² 20th or 22nd July.

³ *Gleanings from the Charter Chest of Cluny Castle*, No. 2, p. 23. The letter is dated from Strone in Lochaber.

⁴ *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 281.

out questioning Murray's integrity, Ballechin's action at least imposed upon him a less cryptic attitude than might otherwise have served the interests of his family.¹ For the moment he faced the fact that the men of Atholl, encouraged by Ballechin, were 'like to break out.' Again he betook himself to them.² At Pitlochry a letter from Ballechin awaited him.³ 'I crave pardone,' he wrote, 'that I cannot waitt upon your Lordship at Pitlochrie, for I have receaved orders from his Majestie's Livetenant to deffend this place for his Majestie's service, quhilk I resolve, God willing, to doe . . . My Lord, I doe not doubt but your Lordship will maik up the breach, and declair for K[ing] J[ames], quhilk I hope in God will preserve your anciant and most nobell Feamallie.' Murray judged himself the better authority upon his family's interests, and proceeding to Blair, closely invested the Castle with such forces as his influence rallied round him.⁴ Dundee's approach a week later drove him from the siege of his own home.

Dundee retained a vivid recollection of Atholl's timorous Jacobitism. His son he affected to believe less irresolute, or judged a brave front available to convert a

¹ The letters of Murray and his wife in the *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine* strongly support the view that he was working for the Government. Mackay, who is never diffident to point out the half-hearted support which contributed to his own want of success, expresses himself (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 48) as satisfied of Murray's integrity. His opinion was strengthened by the fact that Murray was Hamilton's son-in-law, and that he was not 'of some years living in very good understanding with the Marquis his father, of whom at this time the General had no favourable opinion.'

² *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 224.

³ *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 286. It is dated from Blair Castle, 17th July 1689. In *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.* xii., pt. viii. p. 40, the letter is wrongly dated 27th July.

⁴ *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 287. See Murray's report of his conduct to Melville, dated 1st August 1689, in *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 222. The *Memoirs of Lochell* (p. 255) give a quite unjustifiable account of Murray's conduct at this crisis.

half-hearted enemy into a convinced ally. On 19th July he wrote to him. The letter is illuminating. To Cluny Dundee had appealed on the score of numerical odds. Through Murray he touched the Marquis on a broader issue. He wrote :¹—

STROAN, July 19, 1689.

MY LORD,

I was very glaid to hear that yow had appoynted a randevous of the Atholl men at Blair, knowing as I doe from your Lordships ounge mouth your principles, and considering your educatione and the loyaltie of your people, I ame persuaded your appearance is in obedience to his Majesties commands by the letter I sent yow,² which is the reasone why I give yow the trouble of this line, desiring that wee may meet, and concert what is fittest to be done for the good of our country and service of our lawfull King. I doubt bot your Lordship knows that it hath pleased his Majestie to give me the command of his forces in this natione till his aryvall, and he is forced to putt in my hands many other trusts for want of other persones, many of his loyall subjects being imprisoned, or fled, or out of the way, so as he cannot know their inclinations. Your Lordship is happy that is at liberty, and on the head of so considerable a body of loyall men ; by declairing openly for the liberty of your country, and the lawfull right of your undoubted sovereigne, you may acqyre to yourself and family great honours and rewairds, and the everlasting blissing of Almighty God, which is above all. Yow are wiser then to thinke, tho yow were of other principles, that the Atholl men can be, conterary to their inclinatione, ever induced to fight against their King, no more then D[uke] Hamilton, were he never so loyall, could think to make his Streven and Lish-

¹ Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 71.

² On 11th June 1689 Murray forwarded to Melville a letter which he had received from Dundee, with the comment: 'As to the first article my Lord Dundee alledges in his letter, I doe remember I did say something to that purpose, but it was before I came home from England, since which time I never saw him; but as to the other part he alledges he heard I had said, (that if I saw the King or his orders, I would hazard all,) [it] is absolutely fals, for I am sure I said nothing like it' (*Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 54). The letter is signed 'J. Murray.' The editor calls the writer Lord James Murray.

mahaygoe men be for the King, notwithstanding all the power and interest he hes in that country.

I see nothing can hinder or scare any persone from serving the King in this occasione, unless it be that they think the people hes right to dethrone the King, and sett up ane other, which I ame sure a man of your sense can never be so fare foold as to believe. To satisfie the people as to their consciences, hes he not given his royall promise, in his declaratiune, that he will secure the Protestant religion as by law established,¹ and put them in possessione of all their priviledges they have at any time enjoyed since the restoratione of King Charles the Second, which should satisfie the Episcopall and Caveleer party? He promises to all other dissenters liberty of conscience, which ought to please the Presbitereans; and, in generall, he says he will secure our religione in Parliament to the satisfactiune of his people. This he hes in reitterated letters under his hand and seall assured me of, and given me warrant in his name to signifie so much to all his loving subjects. E[arl] of Melfort hes written to me, fully signeifeing his reall intentions to that purpose, which, may be, yow will have more to doe to believe; but, I will assure yow, it is true. His Majestie, in his declarations and his letters to me, as to our liberties and properties, says no less. I ame persuaded every thing will be done to the content of all reasonable men in the next Parliament, which will be so soon as the King in safety can hold it. Much of this was offered by Brydies letters, but kept up by these, who desyred not that the people should be satisfyed, but were resolved to dethrone their King at any rate. I pray God forgive them.

My Lord, if there be any thing more that yow think needfull the King should grant to satisfie his people, I begg yow may let me know of it, for he wants advyce and informatione, as yet, of things and tempers of men here. The indemnitie the King promises by his proclamatione seems very gracious, and of great extent; nobody is excepted, except such as are come from Holland, who are supposed to be chiefly concerned in this usurpatione, and these who votted to dethrone the King and gett up ane other in his place; for my oune part, knowing the prosperous conditione the Kings affairs were in, I would wonder he is so condescending, considering the great provocations he hes

¹ See James's letter quoted in Napier, vol. iii. p. 615.

gote, but that he cannot alter the claimant¹ temper that hes ever been found in the family, and hes emienently appeared in his persone. Tho I have no warrant to say any thing further that he will doe that way, in particular, yet, in the generall, I ame desired to get advyce to him from his friends here, to whom the circumstances of persones are better knowne than to them who are beyond sea, how to draw ane indemnety, such as may be exact, and satisfeing to all honest men as to the exceptions. This is not done for want of the opinione of your Lordship and others of your quality and capacity ; I now desyre it of yow in the Kings name, and assure yow that your proposalls, eather in the generall for the good of the natione, or in favour of any particular persone, shall be seconded by me with all the little interest I have ; for knowing yow so well, I need not fear yow will offer any thing unreasonable. Now is the time these things ought to be treated ; for, if once the King enter on the head of a royall and alreddy victorious army, and insurections appear on all hands, and invasions on every side, there will be no more place for treating, but for fighting.

I know ther are many persons of quality, and particularly my L. Marques of Atholl, who is apprehensive of my L. Melforts ministry, and for their satisfaction in that point, tho he hes solemnly declaired he will never remember past quarrels, bot enter on a new score, and live well with all the world, I have represented to him how much he hes the misfortune to be disliked, and, for that reasone, what hurt hes being at the helme may doe to the Kings affaires ; he asuers me the King will not pairt with him, but, however, that he is resolved to leave him against his will, if he see that his presence is any way prejudiciall, and that with joy, he says, in good earnest, he would resigne his office of Secretarie for Scotland to any honest man, and bids me give him advyce, and this by three different letters, and I know that all I have written to him on that head was seen by the King himself. I ame sure it will be brought about. I know these things some months agoe would have satisfeid all that is good for any thing in this natione. My Lord, considerd if it be better to harken to these things in time, which is all we can ask, then let the King enter the conqueist, which in all humane probabiley he will assuredly doe.

As I writt now to your Lo: so I have done to all others I

¹ i.e. clement.

can reach with letters. I am sure whatever evill befall the country, the King is innocent, and I have done my duty. I need tell yow no news; yow know all better then I doe, who dwell in deserts; yet I can tell yow that the Frensh fleet consists of 80 capitall ships, and is at sea with 10 fire-ships and 400 tenders; that the Dutch, who designed against them, are beat back with loss; that the English dare not appeir; that the French have 15,000 of the old troops aboard to land in Ireland or Brittain; that ther are 3000 more campt at Dunkirk, waiting for our Kings service; that the King is now maister of all Ireland, and hes ane army of 6000 men in good order rady to transport; that Shomberg knows not where to goe for defence of England, and is not thinking of Ireland for all hes being said. In a letter all written with the Kings oun hand, I know we are imediatly to be releived. The Parliaments of England and Scotland are by the ears, and both nations in a flame. Use the time. I ame, my Lord, your most humble servant,

DUNDIE.

From France we are asuered by good hands, that now is the time the Kings friends will declair openly, and their fleet is out.

For the Lord Murray.

Melfort's effacement and James's tardy disavowal of a philo-Catholic policy, in Dundee's view, planted the King's standard upon the stronghold of his opponents. 'The King is innocent,' was an axiom of his rigid Toryism. His error was his inability to discern the Revolution's true significance. In explosive climax the nation had parted with the standards of mediæval monarchism. There is a limit to pardon, and the Stewarts had exceeded it. James's admission of error, his promise to let bygones be bygones, the bait of an exhaustive indemnity, availed nothing. Murray was the wiser, Dundee the more engaging in the glamour of devoted, albeit unnescent, self-sacrifice.

James's proffered moderation was not matched by Dundee's enemies. Cannon's arrival with reinforcements, the persistent rumours, of which Dundee was the busiest disseminator, of French fleets and auxiliaries, did not

obscure the fact that Dundee himself was the real centre of disturbance. On 18th July proclamation was made of an offer of eighteen thousand merks *Scots* for Dundee's body 'dead or alive.'¹ The appeal was to the cupidity of the Clans.² It fell inoperative as a more generous bait for James's grandson over half a century later. Ignorant or contemptuous of the proclamation, Dundee continued his fevered correspondence. 'It is nou no mor time to look on when all your nighboors ar ingadged,' he wrote to Cluny on 20th July³: 'I asseur you it will prove your uter ruin if you doe; so you will doe well to drawe to armes or be looked on as rebelles. If you sit this Sumonds you shall not be often troubled with mor letters from me, so I desyr a positive answer.' 'For Gods cause doe now what you ought,' he admonished Murray at the same time.⁴

Dundee was clearly of opinion that Murray only waited for an opening to declare himself. The men with him were considerable.⁵ Reinforcements were urgently needed. The prestige alone of Murray's co-operation might go far to stiffen the other waverers to loyalty. Dundee continued to ply him with letters which Murray left unanswered, a fact which did not shake Dundee's conviction, that if it were made easy for him, Murray would come over. The rendezvous of the Clans had not yet arrived.⁶ But as early as 18th July Dundee had made up his mind

¹ *An Account of the Proceedings of the Estates*, No. 41, p. 100.

² See a letter of Sir John Dalrymple in *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 193. Dalrymple gives the sum of the reward as '20,000 lbs. ster.'

³ *Gleanings from the Charter Chest of Cluny Castle*, No. 2, p. 24. The letter is dated from Strone, in Lochaber. Another letter to Cluny, undated, is in *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 78.

⁵ He is stated to have had twelve hundred men with him (Balhaldy, *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 255). The number is probably exaggerated.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 258. Balhaldy says that 28th or 29th July was appointed for the rendezvous.

to move.¹ On 22nd July he wrote to Cluny, bidding him 'cause provisions come in again to morous night near to the place of Clunie, for fiveteen hunder men for two dayes.' Dundee added: 'In answer to yours, yow and your friends are to meet me tomorows night (without fail) at Garva.'² By the night of 23rd July Dundee was in Badenoch,³ and on or near the highway to Blair Atholl. He found leisure to again approach Murray. Clearly he wished him to understand that an advance towards him gave opportunity to come out in his true colours. 'I have thought fitt to venture this line more to yow,' he wrote,⁴ 'to let yow know that it was no distrust of your Lop. made me take possession of the Castle of Blair, but that I heard the rebells designed to require yow to deliver it up to them, which would have forced yow to declare before the time I thought yow designed. I thought it would oblige yow, to save yow from that lotche⁵ of either delivering up, or declairing; and for Ballachen, knowing him to be very loyall, I forced him to it, by requyring him in the Kings name to do it. If, after all I have said in my former letters and this, I gette no return, my Lord, I most acknowledge I will be very sorry for your saike.' Dundee waited a day for Murray's answer. Receiving none, he on the

¹ See above, p. 322. It is usually stated that Dundee marched prematurely because Mackay threatened Blair Atholl. So far as his march to Blair on 26th July is concerned, this is true. But so far as his movements between 23rd and 25th June are concerned, I am inclined to hold that Dundee contemplated a union with Murray, whom he undoubtedly believed to be willing to join him, and that that was his motive for marching before all his levies were ready.

² *Gleanings from the Charter Chest of Cluny Castle*, No. 2, p. 25. The letter is dated from Strone. The fifteen hundred mentioned by Dundee were exclusive of 'the rest of our men [who] are provided.'

³ His letter to Cluny of 22nd July is the last he dates from Strone. His letters to Murray on 23rd and 25th July designedly, no doubt, do not reveal his whereabouts.

⁴ Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 79. The letter is headed simply 'July 23, 1689.'

⁵ ? *lâched*.

25th addressed him for the last time:¹ 'I have written often to your Lop. and not only desired yow to declare for the King, but endeavoured by reasons to convince yow that now is the proper time, which the state of affairs may easily show yow; to all which I have never had any return from yow, by word nor writ, tho I can tell yow there is none of the nation has used me so, and I have tryed all that have not already joyned Major Gen. Mackay, on this said Tay, who have any command of men; yet, that I may leave nothing untryed that may free me from blame of what may fall out, I have sent these gentlemen to wait on your Lo: and receive your positive answer.' Major William Graham and Gilbert Ramsay carried the message.² They returned convinced that Murray was hand and glove with Mackay, with whom, in fact, he was communicating regarding the reduction of Blair.³ They brought back yet more serious tidings: Mackay was already at Perth: Blair was in peril: succour imperative. Within a few hours of their return Dundee began his last march.⁴

¹ Smythe, *Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse*, p. 80.

² *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 257. Balhaldy states that Graham and Ramsay communicated to Murray's men the purport of their message, and that the men of Atholl thereupon, 'without further ceremony, run to the river of Tumble, which was near them, filled their bonnets with water, and drank King James his health with many loud huzzas and acclamations, and so deserted him in a full body.' The story is not true. Murray kept his men together until the 26th, when he retreated with them towards Mackay.

Gilbert Ramsay, who was killed at Killiecrankie, was a lawyer who quitted his profession to join Dundee (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 280).

³ See below, p. 332.

⁴ Though I have no authority for these statements, I have no doubt whatever that it was the report of Graham and Ramsay as to Mackay's movements which compelled Dundee to march immediately from Badenoch to Blair on the 26th, on the eve of Killiecrankie. Dundee's biographers are very chaotic in their account of his movements in the week or so preceding Killiecrankie. It is, however, quite certain that he did not move from Badenoch until 26th July, and that from 24th to 25th July he was in the neighbourhood of Cluny, having marched from Lochaber on 23rd

The sudden summons to action found Dundee barely prepared to answer it. The tale of the Clans was not complete. Even Lochiel had not his full strength.¹ Under two thousand strong,² Dundee marched out of Badenoch early on 26th July. At Breakachy he signed a bond in Cluny's favour for six hundred and fifty-nine merks.³ Cluny seemingly was willing to purchase an extension of his irresolute attitude. Before nightfall Dundee halted three miles short of Blair. Murray did not await his coming, withdrew his men from round the castle, and retired to Moulin through the Pass of Killiecrankie, leaving one hundred of his men to hold it against pursuit.⁴ Dundee rode on to Blair on the news of his retreat, and thence despatched the last letter of his busy pen. To Cluny he addressed it. He told him of Murray's retreat, of desertions among the Atholl men. Others would join him on the morrow, he declared. 'So, if you have a mynd to preserve yourself and save the King,' he continued, 'be in armes to morou, that when the letter comes

July. The author of the *Memoirs* of 1714, in his Preface, asserts that Dundee 'took the sacrament in the Church of England two days before he was killed.' The author of *The Despot's Champion* (p. 297), falling into Napier's error, supposes that Dundee was then with Robertson of Struan, and that 'a solemn religious service in preparation for imminent battle' was held. On the contrary, Dundee was not at Struan on the 25th, and on that date he was hardly contemplating 'imminent battle.' But of Dundee's sincere devotion to Episcopacy there is no question. A more feasible tradition is that in 1715 the Earl of Mar listened to a sermon which its author had preached before Dundee a few days before Killiecrankie.

¹ *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 256. Balhaldy is probably accurate as to Lochiel's anxiety to follow with the rest of his Clan, and Dundee's insistence upon his accompanying him.

² *Ibid.*, p. 256; *Memoirs* of 1714, p. 19.

³ Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, *Letters of Two Centuries*, p. 107. Mr. Mackintosh is in error in describing this as 'perhaps the last paper signed by Dundee.' A letter to Cluny, dated from Blair Castle some hours later, is extant.

⁴ *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 225; *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 297.

you may be here in a day. All the world will be with us, blissed be God.'¹

The story turns to Mackay. Leaving Inverness about 20th June² he had reached Edinburgh on 12th July.³ Ten days or so later he again took the field.⁴ His original intention had been to join Argyll, but Murray's report of the demeanour of his men, and Ballechin's seizure of Blair Castle, made him resolve 'to take the country of Atholl in his way to Lochaber.'⁵ On 24th July he was at Stirling, and ordered four petards to be sent forward for the siege of Blair Castle.⁶ Next day (25th July) he advanced to Perth. Here a despatch from Murray awaited him, urging him to choose another route to Lochaber than that through Atholl. Murray undertook to account for Ballechin. Mackay sent his answer: so long as Blair held out, through Atholl he would go. As to Ballechin, 'your Lordship can freely cause tell him,' he added, 'that if he oblige me to goe out of my way, and to hinder my march, I shall cause hang him at the gate, for his Rebellion now, as well as what he did before, by imprisoning my messengers and sending my Letters to the Ennemy.'⁷ Murray probably found means to inform

¹ *Gleanings from the Charter Chest of Cluny Castle*, p. 25. The letter is dated from Blair Castle, 26th July 1689. Cluny had clearly given bond to come out. He had barely received Dundee's letter before Killiecrankie was fought.

² Mackay left Livingstone's and Leslie's regiments, and detachments of Hastings's and Leven's regiments, at Inverness. He marched south with eight hundred of the Scots Brigade, and Berkeley's dragoons (Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 237). For his march, see *ibid.*, p. 41.

³ *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 170.

⁴ See his *Memoirs*, p. 245. He appears to have marched on 22nd July. He exaggerates his stay in Edinburgh to 'above three weeks,' and attributes the delay to the tardiness of the authorities in providing him with provisions for the march.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 246.

⁷ *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 296. Another letter to Murray, from some one whom he had employed to support his request to Mackay to keep out of Atholl, reported to him

Ballechin of the fate in store for him. Dundee's envoys, then in his camp, no doubt heard of it, and galloped back to report the news. Mackay advanced to Dunkeld on the 26th. He left Perth in the morning incredulous of rumours of his enemy's approach.¹ Close on midnight he had news of Dundee's sudden appearance at Blair, and of Murray's withdrawal. He sent back instant orders to Murray to hold the Pass of Killiecrankie 'till I be with you, which, God willing,' he promised 'shall be tomorrow in the forenoon.'²

Early on the fatal morrow, 27th July, Mackay marched from Dunkeld towards the Pass of Killiecrankie. Murray met him at Pitlochry. He reported that the greater number of his men had gone off to remove their cattle from Dundee's thieving Clans. From Lieutenant-Colonel Lawder,³ whom he had sent on to hold the Pass, Mackay learnt that the Pass was open, and Dundee not yet in sight. After a two hours' halt, Mackay, about noon, ordered the advance to be resumed.⁴ Some two and a half miles from Pitlochry the valley closes in abruptly. Lofty tree-clad slopes on either side fall sheer to the level of the rock-hewn bed of the yellow stream and its churning sepia pools, seemingly forming a *cul de sac*; Ben Vrackie's blue summit forbidding egress to a venturing host. Soon the dense slopes of the Garry's right bank drop to lesser height, the roadway winds sharply to the left, and the broadening valley opens out towards

Mackay's determination, 'that if your lordship wer not ther on the head of your men, or in the least he wer oposed, he wold burn it from the on end to the wther' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. xii.*, pt. viii. p. 40).

¹ See his letter of 26th July 1689 in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. vi.*, p. 700.

² Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 49; *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 299.

³ For Lieutenant-Colonel George Lawder, see Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. *passim*.

⁴ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 49. Murray was instructed to remain where he was, and to await the issue of the engagement (*Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 299).

Blair, where Allt Girnaig plashes downward to the Garry at Killiecrankie.¹ Mackay threaded the defile without molestation, and cautiously.² Three regiments of infantry headed the column—Balfour's, Ramsay's, and Kenmure's.³ Lord Belhaven's troop of horse⁴ followed. Next came the Earl of Leven's infantry, followed by Mackay's own regiment of the Scots Brigade, commanded by his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel James Mackay. The baggage-horses, upwards of twelve hundred, toiled behind, escorted by the Earl of Annandale's troop of horse⁵ and Hastings's infantry.

Issuing from the Pass at the spot where the Girnaig joins the Garry, Mackay, advancing ahead of his baggage

¹ It must be remembered that in 1689 the road through the Pass was much more difficult and much nearer to the level of the river than it is at the present time. Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 258) describes it as a 'narrow path, where three men with great difficulty could walk abreast.' See also Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 3rd edit. (1774), vol. i. p. 105.

² Tradition has it that as Mackay's column threaded the Pass, one Ian Ban Beg MacRae fired across the stream and killed a trooper. A well called *Fuaran n trupar* marks the spot where he fell (Chambers, *History of the Rebellions in Scotland under the Viscount of Dundee and the Earl of Mar*, ed. 1829, p. 82). Another tradition records that Mackay left at the Killiecrankie end of the Pass a force of cavalry, which was overwhelmed upon his defeat. Men and horses are said to have fallen pell-mell into the ravine. The spot is known as The Troopers' Den (*Notes and Queries*, fifth series, vol. ii. p. 145).

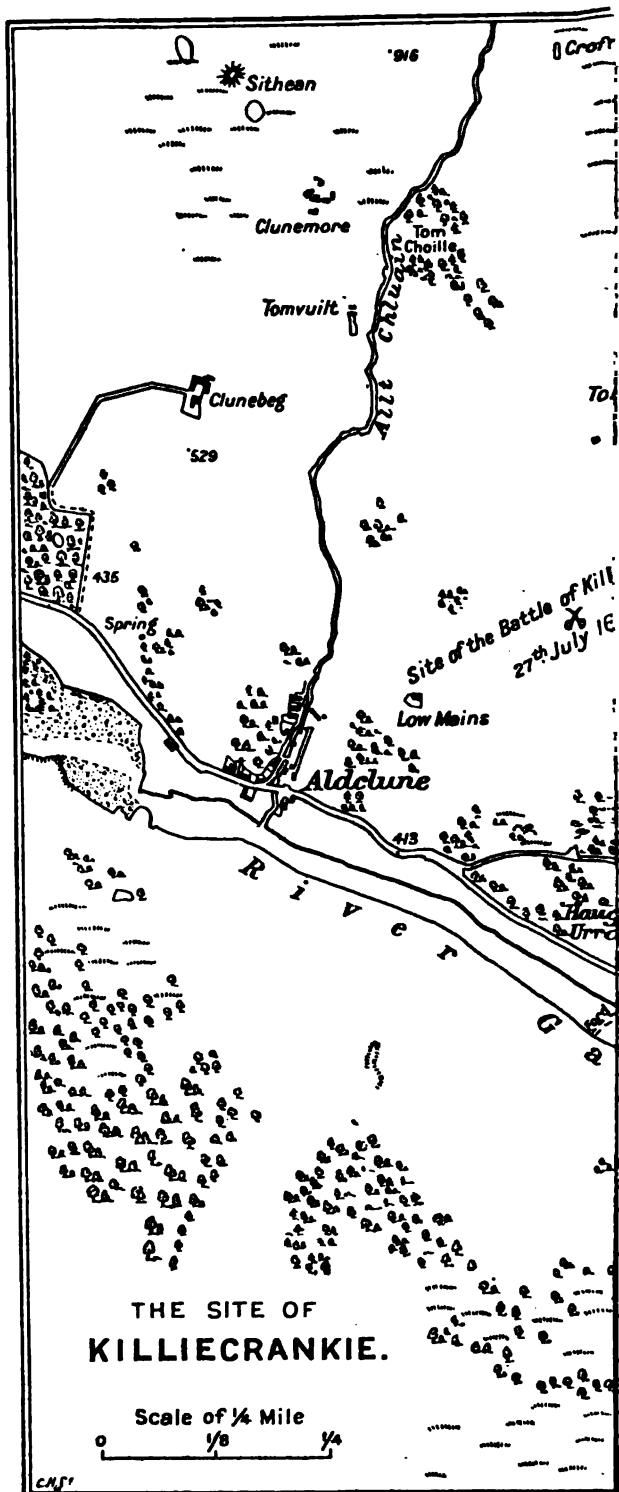
³ The first two were regiments of the Scots Brigade from Holland. Their commanders were Colonel Bartholomew Balfour and Colonel George Ramsay (see Ferguson, *Scots Brigade*, vol. i. *passim*). Lord Kenmure's regiment, like the Laird of Grant's, was raised at this crisis, and was reduced after Cromdale in 1690. The regiment was styled 'The Viscount of Kenmure's Regiment of Foot.' Kenmure's commission bears date 19th April 1689 (Dalton, vol. iii. pp. 8, 92, 94).

⁴ John Hamilton, second Baron Belhaven, was on 19th April 1689 commissioned to command one of several troops of horse raised at this crisis (Dalton, vol. iii. p. 38).

⁵ Annandale was not present with them. He and Lord Ross, both of whom had held commissions in Dundee's regiment, pleaded their duties as members of the Estates, and were reluctantly excused by Mackay from active service (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 246). Annandale's troop and commission were of similar character and date to Belhaven's. See note above.

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and its escort, halted on the level ground between Urrard House and the Garry,¹ to await his baggage and 'to distribute a communication to the forces.' Meanwhile he sent forward Lieutenant-Colonel Lawder, with Belhaven's troop and the two hundred fusiliers with which he had held the Pass on the previous night, to reconnoitre along the high-road to Blair, whence he expected Dundee to appear. Advanced to the rising ground towards Aldclune,² Lawder sent back word of the appearance of 'some partys' advancing towards him from the direction of Blair. Mackay galloped forward at the news, observed 'some small partys of the ennemy, the matter of a short mile, marching slowly along the foot of a hill which lay towards Blair,' concluded they were Dundee's advanced party, and sent back a hasty order to Balfour to advance the foot. His message had barely reached its destination before Mackay detected the actual direction of attack.

Dundee knew his Highlanders as well as Lord George Murray at Prestonpans in the '45. 'Even a haggis, God bless her!' could charge down hill. Dundee had no mind to lose an advantage. With a force containing a mere sprinkling of cavalry, the Clans and their traditional tactics were of chief consideration. A council of war, held that morning upon the news of Mackay's advance, had resolved

¹ I am following Mackay's own minute account. He describes the spot as 'a field of corn along the side of the river.' Without question it was upon the levels bounded by the steep and wooded ascent to Urrard House on the north, and the Garry on the south. It is quite inaccurately marked on the Ordnance Map as the site of the battle. On the accompanying map it is shown as the site of 'Claverhouse's Stone.'

² Mackay describes the spot as 'some hundreds of paces [from his halting-place around 'Claverhouse's Stone'] upon an hill towards the way from whence he expected the ennemy might appear.' The spot was certainly the slight eminence a little short of Aldclune on the accompanying map, where a rough track leaves the high-road on the right (facing Blair) towards Lettoch. The figure 413 on the map marks the spot and its elevation.

to give battle, in spite of the incompleteness of the Clanlevies.¹ Dundee at once put his army in motion. Avoiding the level highway towards Mackay and the Pass, he led his men over the Tilt, past Lude, where Prince Charles had hospitable entertainment in the last Jacobite venture, and over the hills, proclaiming his presence to Mackay as he dropped down to the valley between Clunemore and Clunebeg.² Mackay, still with Lawder on the convenient eminence near Aldclune, first observed 'some bodies' of the Clans 'marching down an high hill, within a quarter of a mile to the place where he stood,' and immediately after, 'the gross of their body.' Instantly he detected his imminent peril, should the Highlanders gain the crest of the ascent at whose foot his own forces lay.³ Galloping back to the troops, Mackay ordered a half-turn to the right,⁴ and carried his whole force up the slope and through the 'trees and shrubs' of Urrard to what, from the valley below, appeared to be the ridge of the valley's lowest rise. The farm of Lettoch rested on the right, the woods and marshy ground skirting the highway were on the left of him as he halted after his oblique ascent.⁵

¹ Balhaldy (*Memoirs of Lochell*, pp. 258-265) gives a long account of the council's deliberation. The one fact that can be safely accepted is, that Dundee's insistence upon the necessity to engage Mackay was endorsed by the chiefs.

² See the map. The Duke of Atholl (*Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 300) supports this view of Dundee's march to Killiecrankie.

³ Mackay's phrase is: 'fearing that they should take possession of an eminence just above the ground where our forces halted on, of a steep and difficult ascent, full of trees and shrubs, and within a carabin shot of the place whereon we stood.' His description exactly fits the wooded bank on which Urrard House stands.

⁴ Mackay calls the movement 'a Quart de Conversion to the right.'

⁵ By the kindness of Mr. Aubrey K. Alston Stewart of Urrard, I was enabled to make an examination of the locality of the battlefield. Mackay's very minute topography leaves me no room to doubt that the sites which hitherto have been accepted for the battle are wrong. To deal with them shortly: Macaulay imagined that the battle was fought in the field where 'Claverhouse's Stone' is marked upon the accompanying

He found before him 'a ground fair enough to receive the ennemy, but not to attack them'; for as he ascended to the ridge, a higher one unfolded itself within distance of 'a short musket shot.' The footpath from Tomgoulach to Torvuilt and Clunebeg marks it roughly. On it Mackay found his enemy awaiting him.¹

map. That site has the sanction of the Ordnance Map of 1900. The most cursory reading of Mackay's narrative is sufficient to prove that that was the spot on which Mackay halted, and not that on which the battle was fought. The second site is immediately above Urrard House. It is equally untenable. In the first place (since the fact is absolutely proved by Mackay's and other accounts, that Urrard House was in his rear), it implies that Mackay fought with a 'steep and difficult ascent' in his immediate rear, a most hazardous position. In the second place, and it is very clear to one who traverses the ground, there is not between Urrard House and the topmost ridge of the hills above it any lower ridge which, from the valley below, could suggest itself as commanding the position. Mackay is definite upon this point. The ridge he made for, he says, seemed to be the highest ridge of the valley's bottom slope; but upon reaching it he found Dundee drawn up upon a yet higher one. Mackay, again, is very definite in his description of the position of his left, and from it there is no room to doubt that his left rested upon the boggy and wooded ground between Aldclune and Haugh of Urrard. This second site, however, is that which Napier adopts, and it is fair to say that a brief narrative by Donald M'Bane (quoted in Napier, vol. iii. p. 724) seems to support his conclusion. That this position was not that on which the battle was fought is clear upon the grounds I have already given. Briefly, no commander would have dreamed of taking his troops up to the height of Creag Eallaich, nor could Dundee have operated from such a precipitous slope. And further, other than Creag Eallaich there is no commanding ridge above Urrard which would attract Mackay's attention from below. The commanding ridge for which he made was, in fact, the hill-line which, viewed from the high-road, runs from Lettoch farm towards Aldclune. Not until one reaches it is it apparent that a yet higher slope, through which Allt Chluain's small burn runs, commands the Lettoch ridge. So Mackay found. The centre of the actual site of the battle is therefore found on a line drawn from Lettoch direct through Low Mains to Aldclune. The line itself, with approximate correctness, displays the frontage of the two armies.

¹ Mackay states that Dundee 'had his back to a very high hill, which is the ordinary maxim of Highlanders, who never fight against regular forces upon any thing of equal terms, without a sure retreat at their back, particularly if their enemies be provided of horse' (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 51). In a short narrative which Mackay dated at Strathbogie on 17th August 1689, he describes Dundee's position as on 'a rysing of a hill, above which, and betwixt it and a great hill at his back, Dundie

Mackay took position from the left in the order in which his regiments had marched through the Pass. Lawder and two hundred fusiliers were on the extreme left.¹ Next to them, in order, were Balfour's and Ramsay's regiments of the Scots Brigade,² Kenmure's, Leven's, and Mackay's, commanded by his brother. Hastings's regiment, which had followed through the Pass in rear of the baggage, came up as Mackay was forming his troops, and fell into position on the extreme right. With his troops aligned Mackay found them numerically unable to contain the position which Dundee's sudden appearance had compelled him to adopt.³ With an eye to his ultimate retreat, and anxious lest Dundee might slip past him above Urrard and towards Faskally,⁴ Mackay took a hazardous, and in the event, a disastrous step. Breaking his infantry into half-battalions, he brought the three rearmost ranks of each into the extended line; prolonged his whole front towards the right, leaving an interval between each half-battalion, and a considerable interval between Kenmure's and Leven's regiments on the centre. Behind this central gap he placed his two troops of horse, Belhaven's supporting Kenmure on the left centre, Annandale's Leven on the right. His extended line, three deep throughout the length of it, offered a matchboard resistance to the impetus of the traditional

had place enough to range his men.' The 'great hill' was certainly that on whose eastern slope Clunebeg and Clunemore lie. Dundee had marched over it, and would naturally hold to it as the direction of a possible retreat.

¹ 'On a little hill wreathed with trees.' One can almost identify this with the hill, already referred to, from which Mackay had observed Dundee's approach.

² Mackay speaks of 'the edge of the wood which was on Balfour's left.'

³ He describes his position as 'a plaine capable to containe more troupes then I had' (*Memoirs*, p. 284).

⁴ Mackay was imminently expecting reinforcements from Perth. See his *Memoirs*, p. 54.

Highland assault.¹ Dundee, as he watched the formation, must have marked his enemy doomed.²

Mackay's position precluded him from attacking. Dundee held that advantage, and used it to adapt his assault to the formation which Mackay offered. He met Mackay's extension of his line by enlarging the intervals between the Clan regiments. Thereby their density and the force of their impact were maintained. Each regiment was directed to engage a particular unit in the line opposed to it. Like Mackay, Dundee was nervous lest his wings should be outflanked; hence the centre of Mackay's line, where Leven's regiment stood, had no part of Dundee's force directly opposite to it.³ On the extreme right⁴ of his line, fronting Brigadier Balfour, Dundee placed the Macleans under Sir John Maclean of Duart. Cannon's Irish contingent was on their left. The Clanranald Macdonalds and Glengarry's Clan⁵ completed, from

¹ See Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 52.

² Mackay's formation had its critics. Burnet remarks: 'Many blamed Mackay for drawing up his army as he did; others justified him; but success failed him' (*History of my own Time: Supplement*, p. 325). Colonel David Stewart (*Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland*, Edin. 1822, vol. i. p. 66) records the tradition that Mackay remarked to Lochiel's second son, who was with him, 'Here is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?' Cameron replied, 'It signifies little, what I would like; but I recommend it to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like.' The story bears an element of improbability. But it carries the criticism of one who, if in fact he was present, would be able to judge the danger of Mackay's formation.

³ *Memoirs of Lochieil*, p. 286. It may be noticed also, that about the centre of Mackay's line 'there was a boggy ground, which, on a sudden, could not without hazard of bogging be galloped' (*Memoirs of the War*, p. 53).

⁴ The authority for Dundee's order of battle is the letter of 15th December 1689 to the Queen, in Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 369. It may be noticed that the letter describes all save the Macleans and Macdonalds on the extreme wings as forming the main battle.

⁵ The Grants of Glenmoriston, under John Grant, younger of Glenmoriston, were present (*Proelium Gillicrankianum*) and fought in Glengarry's battalion. See *Grameid*, p. 150.

right to left, the infantry on the right wing. On the extreme left of the line were the Macdonalds of Sleat.¹ Next to them was a mixed battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean.² On the left centre, facing Mackay's own regiment,³ were the Camerons under Lochiel. Dundee himself, with the few horse he had, was on the left.⁴

The battle of Killiecrankie, in the deliberation which marked its preliminaries, followed the traditional practice of war in the seventeenth century.⁵ Two hours and more wore slowly away,⁶ and Mackay became impatient. Dundee's intention, he apprehended, was to postpone assault till nightfall, when twilight would add 'fright and disorder' to the terrors of a Highland charge. Mackay resolved to provoke an engagement, and opened fire with his three 'little leather field-pieces.'⁷ Their fire proved galling. The Highlanders clamoured for close quarters. But the sun beat down full in their faces, and Dundee held them in. A desultory fusillade beguiled the weary waiting.⁸ An attempt of the Camerons to seize

¹ The *Proelium Gillicrankianum* mentions Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, and the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glencoe. It may be noticed that the Macdonalds were here in the position they so bitterly resented at Culloden.

² Presumably this battalion included the Macneils of Barra and Stuarts Appin, both of whom are mentioned as present in the *Proelium Gillicrankianum*.

³ *Memoirs of Lochiel*, p. 271.

⁴ Balhaldy states that Sir William Wallace of Craigie, upon James's commission, had taken over the command of the cavalry that morning, much to Dundee's dissatisfaction (*ibid.*, p. 268). For Dundee's position in the line see below, p. 350.

⁵ See Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 100.

⁶ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 264.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54. Mackay adds, that the guns 'proved of little use, because the carriages being made too high to be more conveniently carried, broke with the third firing.'

⁸ Mackay, particularly, was a mark for the Highland guns (*Memoirs*, p. 55). There is a tradition that Lochiel, being asked which side would win, declared that victory would rest with the side that first spilled blood. John Grant, younger of Glenmoriston, heard the remark and drew one of his Clan's attention to an officer on a white horse who rode out from Mackay's line. The man fired, and the officer fell, shot through the heart (William Mackay, *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, p. 201).

some houses on their front as cover for their marksmen was defeated by Mackay's own regiment, a detachment of which drove in the Camerons on their main body.¹ They were barely back within their lines before Dundee gave the signal. The time was half an hour before sunset.²

Words, the fewest, clog the rapid action of the battle. *Afflavit Deus!* Mackay, the 'piouslest' soldier known to Gilbert Burnet, wrote the battle in a sentence: 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth.' An eerie howl from Highland throats, a maddening rush, guns cocked, silent till at barrel's-point³ the bullets crashed thunder-hail into the three-deep line. Then, guns discarded, claymores out, the yelling line, shearing to its right by reason of the declivity, dashed unequally upon the doomed battalions. The Macdonalds, on the higher ground, bore down Mackay's own regiment, leaving Hastings's standing. The Camerons, leaving the right of Leven's intact, broke his left or centremost division. The wave of threatening destruction swept on with gathering impact towards Mackay's left on the lower slope. Balfour's fled without a shot. Half of Ramsay's—the leftward—did no more. Lawder, on the extreme left, joined the stampede. Pell-

¹ Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 55. The incident is also mentioned by Balhaldy. He asserts that the Camerons occupied the house or houses in order to forestall a similar step on the part of Mackay (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 266).

It is appropriate to point out that the so-called entrenchments which the Highlanders are said to have thrown up on the hill above Urrard are demonstrably apocryphal. There was no need to entrench; to do so was foreign to Highland tactics; and there is not a word in contemporary narratives to support the idea.

² Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 55. Balhaldy gives the hour as, 'the sun being near its close' (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 267). In an account of the campaign, dated 15th December 1689, written to the Queen in France, Dundee is said to have given the signal to attack 'about 8 o'clock' (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 369).

³ *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 267. One detects here, perhaps, the experience Dundee had gained from a study of Montrose's battles, especially Auldearn. See Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 133.

mell through the Haugh and woods of Urrard followed the mad pursuit. 'In the twinkling of an eye' pursued and pursuer were out of sight. Mackay on the upward slope, Leven's half-battalion and Hastings's regiment still around him, had called on his cavalry to flank the onrush of Camerons and Macdonalds. Belhaven's troop wheeled out, only to fall back on Kenmure's and carry it with it off the field. Annandale's, higher up the brae, followed suit.¹ Mackay did not yet despair. Some of Leven's and most of Hastings's were intact. Stragglers from other regiments fell in. Insistent messages called back the runaways. But to no purpose. In the gloaming Mackay led off all that remained of his army, crossed the Garry at the ford, and plodded through the night, plagued with the inscrutability of defeat, and timorous of Dundee on his heels.²

¹ Sir John Dalrymple, writing on 28th July 1689, asserts Annandale's troop to have made 'the first disturbance' (*Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 205).

² See Mackay's account in his *Memoirs*, pp. 55-60, 264. The significant fact in the battle has been missed, I think, by previous writers, largely because they were wedded to the wrong site. The fact is, that the Highlanders, charging over ground which sloped on their right downward to the valley, found themselves drawn naturally in that direction. Hence Hastings's, on Mackay's extreme right, was practically untouched, but Mackay's, next to it, was blown out of the line. Hence, also, half of Leven's escaped the impact. Mackay's left, which, on his own admission, hardly stood, fled for the reason that the Highland charge, drawn towards it by the declivity, seemed to threaten it with well-nigh the full force of the Clans. This conclusion becomes positive when it is borne in mind that though the Camerons fronted Mackay's own regiment when originally drawn up, it was the Macdonalds on their left who routed that regiment.

The stand made by Leven's and Hastings's is confirmed in *Memoirs of Lochiel*, p. 269; Balhaldy adds (p. 270) that Leven retreated to a house, clearly Urrard. But Mackay states positively that though he thought of establishing himself there, he decided not to do so (*Memoirs*, p. 58).

The numbers engaged in the battle are very variously estimated. In the letter of intelligence to the Queen (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 369) Dundee's strength is given, probably accurately, as two thousand five hundred foot and one troop of horse. In a letter from Edinburgh, dated 30th July 1689, written apparently by one of his officers, Mackay's strength is given as four thousand foot, besides his two

And Dundee? He had charged at the head of his handful of horse. Dunfermline saw him as they galloped into the battle smoke, waving on his men, exultant of victory. Downward past Urrard the breathless gallop continued. But Dundee no longer headed it. The last desperate volley of Mackay's own regiment before it fled brought him reeling from the saddle.¹ They found him dying when the night had settled down over the gory field.² He asked how the day went. 'Well for the King; but I'm sorry for your Lordship,' was the answer. 'Tis the less matter for me,' he replied, 'seeing the day goes well for my master.'³ The shriek of carnage came backward from the Pass as they watched the last moments of him whose death robbed the cause he loved of victory. The end came soon.⁴ Highland plaids were his winding-

troops of horse (*MS. Record of the 25th Regiment*, in the War Office). In other accounts the numbers rise to as much as six thousand on both sides. But the numbers given above are probably correct.

The mortality of the battle is not easy to determine. Balhaldy states that Dundee lost nearly one-third of his total force, i.e. about six hundred, according to his figures. The Camerons, he admits, lost one hundred and twenty, chiefly as the result of Leven's flank fire (*Memoirs of Lochell*, pp. 268, 271). Of his chief officers Mackay lost only his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, and Brigadier Balfour. On the side of Dundee, Halyburton of Pitcur, Gilbert Ramsay, Donald Macdonell, Glengarry's brother, and John Macdonald of Largo are particularly mentioned (*Memoirs of 1714*, p. 21).

¹ See Appendix II.

² According to Balhaldy, it was Dunfermline who found him (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 269).

³ One Johnston, who caught Dundee when he fell, was the man who answered Dundee's question (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 56). It became a tradition, however, that Halyburton of Pitcur gave him the news he asked for, and had his answer (Morer, *Short Account*, p. 99). According to Mackay, Pitcur was shot by the same volley that wounded Dundee. According to Balhaldy, Pitcur was shot while he and others were removing Dundee from the range of Leven's regiment, which was still on the field (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 269).

⁴ By 3rd August 1689 authentic news of Dundee's death and its details had reached Edinburgh. Among them was the fact that he did not survive the action four hours (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 45, p. 108). The tradition that he sent a dispatch to James is dealt with in Appendix III.

sheet as they carried him to Blair.¹ There they buried him.² And there he rests,³ heedless of the ruin of his nearest and dearest;⁴ heedless of Cromdale and its

¹ *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 57. Balcarres states that on the day following the battle, an officer found upon the ground where Dundee fell 'a bundle of Papers and Commissions which he had about him,' adding, that 'those who stripped him thought them but of small Concern' (*An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 108). In the Bannatyne volume of Dundee's letters (p. 83) the editor states that the copy of Balcarres's *Account* in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, bears a MS. note stating that the writer of it had conversed with one who saw Dundee's body lying naked on the field after the battle, and helped to carry it away wrapped in a plaid. This is both incredible and is indirectly controverted by the evidence of James Malcolm, who testified that he had seen Dundee 'lying dead' of his wounds at Killiecrankie (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 58). Had he seen the body stripped and naked he could hardly have omitted to say so. The groundwork upon which the unhappy tradition has been reared is, I think, very easily exposed. See the following note.

² See *Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. pp. 56, 59. The date of his hasty interment was 29th July (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 44, p. 106). Early in the following September, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck was at Blair, and found the bodies of Dundee and Pitcur 'lying in an Isle of the Church of Blair, and not yet interr'd, but wrapt up in coarse Linen Cloth, in very ordinary Coffins, where any body that pleases may see them.' Some of Mackay's officers, who returned with him from Blair to Edinburgh on 7th September 1689, 'had the curiosity to see and view the Corps of the late Lord Dundee, which they found lying in a Vault in one of the Isles of the Church' (*ibid.*, No. 54, p. 126; No. 56, p. 129). It is clear, I think, that the tradition of his body having been rifled on the field of battle was chiefly, if not wholly, founded upon the interpretation which Mackay's officers gave of the hasty measures which had been taken to prepare Dundee's body for burial.

On the bicentenary of Killiecrankie in 1889 the Duke of Atholl placed a tablet to Dundee's memory upon the wall of the ruined Church of St. Bride at Old Blair.

³ A statement, which found its way into guide-books, that Dundee's body was translated from Blair to Old Deer, is quite without foundation. See *The Despot's Champion*, p. 322.

⁴ Upon Dundee's death his title and estates devolved upon his son James. He was only three months old, and during his lifetime his estates were left undisturbed. He died, however, late in November or early in December 1689 (*An Account of the Proceedings*, etc., No. 77, p. 172), and was succeeded by his uncle, David Graham. David Graham had on 12th May 1689 been summoned to appear before the Committee of Estates (*ibid.*, No. 23, p. 63). He had failed to comply, and had remained in arms after his brother's death. About 1st September 1689 he had been taken prisoner while engaged in defending Struan House

greater catastrophe;¹ sleeping with the exultant message to Cluny his last tidings from earth to the after-world: 'All the world will be with us, blissed be God;' bearing with him his *apologia*, 'The King is innocent, and I have done my duty.' As he lived, so he died, bathed in the glamour of ideals fast setting to decline, the last expression of his century's reckless Stewartism—

*'Montrosio novus exoritur de pulvere phœnix,
Virtutis simul, et patrii cognominis hæres.'*²

against Mackay's forces (*ibid.*, No. 54, p. 126). He was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, but was released, upon an exchange of prisoners, about 3rd December 1689 (*ibid.*, No. 77, p. 171). His nephew, the second Viscount, died at the same time. As a declared rebel the Government took immediate steps against the new inheritor of Dundee's honours. On 3rd January 1690 an Order of Council sequestrated his rents and those of others who had been in arms (*ibid.*, No. 85, p. 187). On 2nd May 1690 a process of treason was raised against him (*Acts Parlt. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 112), and on 14th July 1690 sentence of forfeiture was pronounced (*ibid.*, App. p. 61). The Claverhouse properties were bestowed on the Marquis of Douglas. The titular Viscounty of Dundee passed to the Grahams of Duntrune.

¹ The surprise of the Highlanders at Cromdale on 1st May 1690 brought the campaign which Dundee had planned to its conclusion.

² *Grameid*, p. 40.

APPENDIX I

CLAVERHOUSE'S REGIMENT

THE nucleus of 'His Majesty's Regiment of Horse,' to the command of which Claverhouse was commissioned on 25th December 1682, was found in the three independent troops which had been raised in 1678, of which Claverhouse, the Earl of Home, and the Earl of Airlie had been commissioned captains on 23rd September 1678. Each troop consisted of five officers (captain, lieutenant, cornet, quartermaster, three corporals, two trumpets), and sixty rank and file. The pay of each troop *per diem* amounted to £7, 13s.¹ A fourth troop was raised to complete the regiment, probably early in 1683, and it was given (commission dated 25th December 1682) to the Earl of Balcarres. It numbered only fifty rank and file, and its pay amounted to £6, 16s. 4d. *per diem*.² Regarding Claverhouse's pay as colonel, the Earl of Moray writes from Whitehall to Queensberry on 3rd February 1683: 'His Highness hes also moved the Kinge that Claverous should haue a Collonell's pay,' and that the aide-major, marshal, and quartermaster of Dalziel's dragoons—the Scots Greys—should be discharged, 'and ther pay applyed for Claverous, who is to haue the same pye as Coll. that the Gennerall [Dalziel] hes as Coll. of the dragoons.'³ A daily allowance of 13s. 8d. was ordered to be paid him,⁴ which, with his pay as captain, gave him £1, 7s. 8d. *per diem*, or (reckoning twenty-eight days to the month) £464, 16s. *per annum*.

Upon the regiment's formation, Claverhouse himself and the Earl of Balcarres received the command of two of the four troops. The remaining two were conferred upon Lord Ross of Hawkhead⁵ and Adam Urquhart of Meldrum (commissions

¹ See above, p. 38.

² *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vii. fol. 480.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the Manuscripts at Drumlanrig Castle*, vol. ii. p. 22.

⁴ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vii. fol. 537.

⁵ Ross desired appointment as Claverhouse's lieutenant-colonel. The Duke of York writes to Queensberry on 27th March 1683 to declare that

dated respectively 26th December 1682 and 27th December 1682). The *personnel* of the four troops was as follows:—¹

Claverhouse's Troop. ²	Ross's Troop. ³
<i>Captain</i> Colonel John Graham.	William Lord Ross.
<i>Lieutenant</i> Andrew Bruce of Earlsall.	Sir Mark Carse.
<i>Cornet</i> William Graham.	Sir Adam Blair.
<i>Quartermaster</i> David Graham.	David Home.
Meldrum's Troop. ⁴	Balcarres's Troop. ⁵
<i>Captain</i> Adam Urquhart of Meldrum.	The Earl of Balcarres.
<i>Lieutenant</i> Sir Francis Ruthven.	David Bruce of Clackmannan.
<i>Cornet</i>	Sir James Douglas of Kelhead. ⁶
<i>Quartermaster</i>	John Lindsay.

Robert Graham of Morphie was commissioned aide-major on 21st May 1683.⁷ On 21st February 1684 Claverhouse's brother, David, was promoted cornet in his own troop,⁸ and his quarter-mastership was conferred (commission dated 23rd February 1684) on James Kinnaird.⁹ The officers of the troop were not

Ross's desire could not be entertained, 'there being to be no such officer amongst the horse, in any of his Majesty's kingdoms.' If Ross had a mind to be major, York undertook to move the King in his behalf (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 185). On 10th April 1683 Claverhouse writes to Queensberry (*ibid.*, p. 279): 'The Deuk told me yesterday that you hade recommended my Lord Ross for to be Lievetenant Coll. to my regiment. . . . I fynd the Deuk will be content he be Major, and I did not at all opose it, because recomended by your Lordship; tho I have some raison to take a litle unkyndly in my friend, my Lord Ross, that he should indevor any alteration in the regiment without lating me knou it.'

¹ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. vii. fol. 481-96.

² The commissions are all dated 25th December 1682.

³ The commissions are all dated 26th December 1682.

⁴ The commissions are all dated 27th December 1682.

⁵ The commissions are all dated 28th December 1682.

⁶ Sir James Douglas did not accept the commission. See *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 275.

⁷ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. viii. fol. 72. Claverhouse writes to Queensberry on 12th April 1683: 'I fynd the Deuk thinks Meldrum most propre to be Major, but will not condeshend to put him over ane older Captain's [i.e. Ross's] head, that is a man of quality: tho I indevored to perswad him to it. In these things it is hard to impose upon him. Wherfor, I told him it would be best to lait it alon all together, that we may see if tyme can bring it about. I knou not well what he will doe in it, but I supose he may take advyce' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 280).

⁸ *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. viii. fol. 278.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. viii. fol. 279.

changed during the remainder of Charles the Second's reign.¹ After the accession of James the Second, the commissions of Claverhouse, Andrew Bruce of Earlsall, David Graham, and James Kinnaird, as colonel, captain-lieutenant, cornet, and quartermaster, were renewed (commissions dated 30th March 1685).²

The regiment early in the new reign received a mark of royal favour. A letter of 21st December 1685 under the royal sign-manual ordered it to be designated henceforth 'His Majesty's Own Regiment of Horse.' The addition of a surgeon, mate, and farrier to each troop was sanctioned at the same time.³ On 15th July 1684 the Earl of Drumlanrig's commission as lieutenant-colonel of the regiment was before the Privy Council at Edinburgh.⁴ On 30th March 1685 his commission was renewed.

Throughout James the Second's reign the officers of Claverhouse's troop remained unchanged. In 1688 the *personnel* of the regiment was as follows :—⁵

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>
John Graham of Claverhouse, Col., 1st Aug. 1683.	Andrew Bruce, Capt.-Lt., 1st. Aug. 1683.	David Graham, 29th May 1684.
Earl of Drumlanrig, Lt.-Col., ⁷ 14th Aug. 1685.	Francis Crichton. ⁶	James Nasmyth.
Sir Charles Murray, Major, 18th April, 1687. ⁷		

¹ The establishment for the pay of the standing forces in Scotland under the royal sign-manual, dated 16th June 1684, is printed in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iii. p. 73. In the *Warrant Book, Scotland* (vol. v. fol. 331-72), under date 6th December 1679, there is an 'Abridgement of the Military Discipline' appointed for the Scottish establishment.

² *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. ix. fol. 361, 362, 363, 364.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. x. fol. 285.

⁴ Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 133. In August 1684 Claverhouse's regiment mustered two hundred and fifty strong (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* x., pt. i. p. 135).

⁵ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. ii. p. 211. The dates attached to the names are not the dates of appointment, but of their earliest entry on the muster-roll.

⁶ His commission—probably a renewal—is dated 30th March 1685 (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. ix. fol. 364).

⁷ On 29th November 1688 Sir Charles Murray was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the room of Drumlanrig, and succeeded to his troop (*ibid.*, vol. xiii. fol. 367).

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Cornets.</i>
Earl of Airlie, ¹ 5th Aug. 1685.	William Graham. ²	Sir William Keith. ³ 31st July 1683.
Sir William Wallace, 7th April, 1687.	Sir Mark Carse[?Kerr], ⁴ 16th Aug. 1683.	Charles Ross. ⁵
Colin, Earl of Balcarres, ⁶ 27th July 1683.	David Bruce of Clackmannan. ⁶	James Fletcher.
Lord William Douglas, ⁷ 5th Feb. 1685.	James Stewart.	William Douglas.
<i>Aide-Major</i>	Robert Graham, ⁸ 29th May 1684.	
<i>Quartermaster</i>	James Kinnaird, ⁹ 29th May 1684.	
<i>Surgeon</i>	Roderick Mackenzie.	

The service of the regiment in the brief campaign against William of Orange in 1688 has been dealt with in its place. After the accession of William and Mary, the regiment was struck off the establishment.¹⁰

¹ On 18th October 1688 William, Earl of Annandale, was commissioned captain in the room of Airlie (*ibid.*, vol. xiii. fol. 309). Airlie had got the troop command about November 1684, on the death of Meldrum. York writes on 18th November 1684: 'I heare that Meldrum is dead, and Earle of Earley is to haue that troupe againe, which he has very earnestly desired; and indeed it was but resonable, he hauing never desired to part with it' (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 211). Airlie had been given one of the three original troops raised in 1678.

² On 7th December 1688 William Graham (who had been Claverhouse's troop cornet after Drumclog) was commissioned major upon Murray's promotion to the lieutenant-colonelcy (*ibid.*, vol. xiii. fol. 389).

³ Sir William Keith was commissioned lieutenant (on William Graham's promotion) on 7th December 1688 (*ibid.*, vol. xiii. fol. 390), and on the same date Robert Young was commissioned cornet in his place (*ibid.*, vol. xiii. fol. 391).

⁴ His commission dated from 28th December 1682. See above, p. 347.

⁵ On 1st December 1688 John Cleland and George Holmes were commissioned respectively cornet and quartermaster to Wallace's troop (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 380, 381).

⁶ Their commissions were dated 28th December 1682. See above, p. 347.

⁷ On 18th November 1684 the Duke of York writes to Queensberry: 'Your sonn's commission for a new troupe shall be sent downe to you, so sone as you send to me the names of those you would haue to be his lieutenant and cornett.' It appears also from the letter that Lieutenant Stewart was late of Dumbarton's regiment (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xv., pt. viii. p. 211).

⁸ His commission was dated 21st May 1683. See above, p. 347.

⁹ His commission was dated 23rd February 1684. See above, p. 347. Henry Graham was commissioned quartermaster of Claverhouse's troop on 23rd June 1688 (*Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 158).

¹⁰ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. ii. p. 211.

APPENDIX II

DUNDEE'S DEATH AT KILLIECRANKIE

UPON the manner of Dundee's death there is a mass of conflicting evidence. But there is unanimity upon one important point. He was put out of action by a wound that proved fatal at the very commencement of the battle. The clearest evidence to this fact is a letter from James to Cannon, dated 30th November 1689: 'We need not therefore exhort you to courage, or loyalty, which if you had not been very steady in, the loss you had in your General, at the verie entrance into action . . . were enough to baffle you.'¹ Creighton's statements are of the barest credibility when unsupported. On this point, however, his evidence supports the information upon which James wrote. Creighton states that Dundee was 'killed by a random shot, at the beginning of the action: yet his men discovered not his fall, till they had obtained the victory.'² Two days after the battle Thomas Stewart of Stenton writes to Lord Murray: 'My Lord Dundie vas shot dead one the head of his horse.'³ That Dundee 'charged in person, upon the head of the horse,' is confirmed by the letter of intelligence to Queen Mary, dated 15th December 1689.⁴ Mackay's statement is: 'Dundee with his hors, wheeling to our right, came upon the battaillon of my regement, by whose fire, according to their own confession, both Dundie, Pitkur, one Ramsay, and others were killed at the first onset.'⁵ Mackay's statement finds

¹ *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 333.

² *Works of Swift*, ed. Scott, vol. x. p. 184.

³ *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 304.

⁴ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 370.

⁵ *Memoirs of the War*, p. 265. If it be remembered that Mackay's regiment was next to Hastings's on the extreme right of Mackay's line, it seems clear that Dundee placed his small force of cavalry on the left of his line, and probably on the right of the Macdonalds, in order to sweep up, as it were, what remained of the enemy after the Highlanders' charge.

curious confirmation. Within a fortnight of Dundee's death, Mackay's brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, was stated to have been 'the man that gave Dundee his passport to heaven or hell.'¹

So much is clear: Dundee, riding on the flank of the Macdonalds, correcting the oblique and rightward trend of his army's attack, crossed the zone of fire from Mackay's own regiment, and fell even before victory had declared itself against Mackay's left.

The next point to consider is the nature of the wound which caused his death. The evidence hitherto available is absolutely contradictory. According to Balhaldy, Dundee was shot 'about two hand's-breadth within his armour, on the lower part of his left side.'² According to Balcarres, he was shot 'in his Right Side, immediately below his Armour.'³ Dundee's breastplate is preserved at Blair Castle. It shows a shot-hole 'right through the centre'! The breastplate would be the most trustworthy witness if the shot-hole could pass muster. In fact, it cannot. The Duke of Atholl states that traditionally the shot-hole was manufactured by the carpenter of the fourth Duke, 'presumably to improve its warlike appearance.'⁴ The admission is important; for if the breastplate at Blair is really Dundee's, and

His wheel to the left, which Mackay describes, was designed to support his left, somewhat isolated by the rightward trend of the Highland attack. Elsewhere in his narrative (p. 55) Mackay speaks of Dundee's cavalry being with the Macdonalds (on the left of the Highland line) in the attack upon Mackay's right. Balhaldy describes the cavalry as posted on the centre, next to the Camerons (*Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 266). But his authority is certainly not to be preferred to Mackay. The letter to the Queen already quoted merely describes the horse as helping to form the main body. But, as I have pointed out, the writer includes every regiment save those on the extreme wings in this term. That letter also says that Dundee was shot 'while he was riding to help the confusion he observed in the left wing, occasioned by the gallant resistance of Colonel Hastings's regiment' to the Macdonalds (Macpherson, *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 370). This version I take to be accurate, and it confirms Mackay's account of Dundee's movements. According to Balhaldy, Sir William Wallace did not follow Dundee, but led those who followed him to the left, that is, towards Hastings's regiment. Balhaldy's implication that Dundee took a rightward course is certainly not accurate.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xii., pt. vii. p. 255.

² *Memoirs of Lochell*, p. 269.

³ *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 105.

⁴ *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 301.

if the shot-hole in it is of artificial character, then is it established that Dundee was shot neither in his right side, nor in his left, nor in his breast. Of the genuineness of the breastplate at Blair there appears to be no question; while the circumstances under which it was recovered in themselves disprove the tradition that Dundee's body was spoiled after death on the field of battle. About the year 1794 Dundee's grave in Old Blair Church was disturbed by a gravedigger. Portions of Dundee's armour were found, and were sold by the gravedigger to some travelling tinkers. General Robertson of Lude recovered a part of Dundee's helmet.¹ The cuirass or breastplate was obtained by the Duke of Atholl.²

There is said to be yet another article of Dundee's clothing in existence to witness to the manner of his death. 'In Penny-cuik house,' writes Sir Walter Scott, 'is preserved the buff-coat, which he [Dundee] wore at the battle of Killiecrankie. The fatal shot-hole is under the arm-pit.'³ That Dundee 'put on a Sad-colour'd Coat over his Armour' for the battle, 'tho' he appear'd in Red all the Morning,' is stated by Thomas Morer.⁴ But in point of fact the buff-coat at Penicuik did not belong to Dundee, and was not worn by him at Killiecrankie! It belonged to General Monck, and its authenticity is attested by a note on it, dated 1656, by the then proprietor of Penicuik. Nor has it a shot-hole under the arm-pit. In fact, there is not a bullet-mark upon it!⁵ How Sir Walter blundered into such an error passes comprehension.

The character of the evidence supporting a body wound may be summarised as follows. Balhaldy's and Balcarres's statements, mutually contradictory, are both disproved by the absence of a shot-hole on either side of the Blair breastplate. The shot-hole which that relic shows in the centre cannot be accepted unsupported as evidence, in view of the taint of artificial manufacture which rests upon it. The buff-coat at Penicuik is not Dundee's, and even if it were, it would stand in evidence of the fact that Dundee was not shot in the body.

¹ *Scottish National Memorials*, p. 118.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Art. 'John Graham of Claverhouse'; *Notes and Queries*, ninth series, vol. ix. p. 252.

³ *Poetical Works*, vol. ii. p. 245.

⁴ *Short Account*, p. 99.

⁵ I am indebted to Sir George Clerk, of Penicuik, for his kind response to my inquiries upon this matter.

How, then, was Dundee killed? On 7th September 1689 Mackay and some of his officers returned to Edinburgh from Blair Castle. They reported that they had viewed Dundee's body, 'which by undeniable Marks they knew to be his,' lying in a coffin in the vault of Old Blair Church, and that 'the Mortal Wound he received, and of which soon dy'd, was by a Shot in his left Eye.'¹ That Dundee's body was then viewable in its coffin in the vault is confirmed by Sir Duncan Campbell, who had also seen it.² There was no motive for misrepresentation as to the nature of the wound of which Dundee died. And a shot in the left eye is entirely compatible with Dundee's position, as described by Mackay, when he received his wound. It explains the absence of any authenticated shot-hole in his armour. It may be stated, therefore, with conviction, that the shot which brought Dundee down at the very commencement of the battle was neither in the left, the right, nor the centre of his body, but in his left eye.

A further point demands notice. There is a persistent tradition that at Killiecrankie Dundee was the victim of foul play. The details which embody the tradition are demonstrably inaccurate; but the tradition remains. The story that Dundee was shot by Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone, whom Dundee's widow afterwards married, is disproved with ridiculous ease; for Livingstone was not at Killiecrankie. The tradition that he was shot from the windows of Urrard House is as easily undermined by its variance with the authoritative facts of the battle.³ But some ground for believing that foul play was at work remains, and it has curious, but inconclusive, support. That a reward of eighteen thousand merks was offered on 18th July 1689 for Dundee's body, dead or alive, has already been stated. One day earlier (17th July) King William's Secretary of State, the Earl of Nottingham, wrote to General Mackay to recom-

¹ *An Account of the Proceedings, etc.*, No. 56, p. 129.

² See above, p. 344.

³ Urrard House, as I have shown, was well to the rear of the battle. The mound in Urrard grounds to which Dundee's charger is said to have borne its dead master must be as sceptically received as the so-called 'Claverhouse's Stone' below, on Mackay's camping-ground, as the scene of Dundee's death. A letter from the then proprietor of Urrard, dated 'Rinrorie, 6 of August 1689,' proves that the Atholl Highlanders regarded him as no friend to them. See *Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*, vol. i. p. 310.

mend to him Thomas Theaker and Captain George Theaker as persons who had formed 'a design, which they believe they can compass, of surprising and seizing Dundee, which would be a very good service, and acceptable to his Majesty.'¹ Thomas Theaker fell out of the plot, but on 19th July Captain George Theaker and William Warner had passes to proceed from London to Edinburgh.² What they did in Scotland unfortunately cannot be determined. But on 21st October 1689 Nottingham described them as 'the persons who . . . went into Scotland, where they did the King very good service, of which the Duke of Hamilton has told the King.'³ That these men came to Scotland to earn the reward is fairly clear. That they accomplished some service of sufficient distinction to merit a special report of it from the High Commissioner to the King is also established. What service could these two unknown persons render in Scotland other than of the treacherous character which admittedly brought them thither? If it was of the nature which, in view of the whole circumstances of the case, is at least possible, their service would remain a closely guarded official secret. But some suspicion might gradually arise. In that case it might easily connect itself with the innocent Livingstone, whose marriage with Lady Dundee offered at least a lodgment for scandal, rather than with the actual perpetrators, who having joined Dundee's small troop of horse on the eve of battle, used their opportunity to make certain that he would, victorious or defeated, never trouble their employers again.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1689-1690, p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296. On 22nd October 1689 the two men had passes to proceed from Chester to Ireland (*ibid.*, p. 299). Thomas Theaker is possibly the person who in 1692 was commissioned ensign in Colonel Samuel Venner's Regiment of Foot (Dalton, vol. iii. p. 268). George Theaker's name does not appear in the commission registers of the period. A William Warner appears as a captain in Colonel Ferdinando Hastings's regiment in 1692 (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1691-1692, p. 335).

APPENDIX III

DUNDEE'S ALLEGED LETTER TO KING JAMES ANNOUNCING HIS VICTORY

AMONG James Macpherson's *Original Papers*, published in 1775, there are printed¹ two documents which have been the subject of considerable discussion. The first is a speech which Dundee is alleged to have addressed to his army before the Battle of Killiecrankie. The second is a letter which Dundee is alleged to have despatched to James in Ireland before he succumbed to his wounds. Macaulay, with characteristic impetuosity, did not hesitate to accuse Macpherson of 'as impudent a forgery as Fingal.' Mr. George Smythe, who reprinted the suspected documents in 1826 in the Bannatyne volume of Dundee's letters, had already given Macaulay a lead as to the character of them. Napier, however, was able to adduce evidence in complete disproof of Macaulay's charge of forgery against Macpherson, and with a whoop of victory pinned his faith to the genuineness of the documents which Macpherson had copied and printed. From Napier's time opinion has rested in a condition of bewilderment. It is the purpose of this note to show that Macaulay's scepticism was fully justified, and that Napier's defence of Macpherson was equally so—an apparent contradiction which the conclusion will resolve.

The original manuscript from which Macpherson printed his version of Dundee's alleged speech and letter is in the Bodleian, in one of Carte's miscellaneous volumes of MSS. (vol. 130, fol. 322). That the manuscript which Macpherson printed was contemporary with Killiecrankie admits of no question. The Rev. W. D. Macray, who has watched and aided the controversy on this question since Macaulay's challenge and Napier's counter-challenge, kindly answered a question from me as follows: 'As I communicated to Mr. Mark Napier many years ago, the paper

¹ Vol. i. p. 370.

is written by a contemporary hand, upon a quarto half-sheet of paper, without any note or endorsement whatever.' Mr. Firth, Regius Professor of History in the University, was so good as to give me his conclusions upon the contemporary nature of the manuscript which Macpherson utilised. 'There is no possible ground for the theory that Macpherson forged it,' he writes: 'It is written on two sides of a loose sheet of quarto paper, in a late 17th or early 18th century hand. There is no indication of date on the MS. Macpherson has printed it fairly accurately, with the exception of the headlines.'

So much is clear. Macpherson in 1775 printed in good faith, and with every reason to believe them genuine, a manuscript speech and letter of Dundee, in a contemporary hand, which he found among other papers of the period which his volume includes. Napier triumphs so far. But the further question arises, What is the authority of the document which Macpherson adopted and printed as genuine? It is possible to answer conclusively. While Macpherson's other papers are genuine reprints of authentic documents, the contemporary manuscript of Dundee's speech to his army and his letter to King James is nothing more than a manuscript copy of a broadside printed in London within a few days of Killiecrankie, of no authority whatever, published in order to counteract the early rumours of Dundee's death and, as that event portended, the destruction of Jacobite hopes in the United Kingdom.

The news of Dundee's death only leaked out after a considerable interval. Lord James Murray, who was at Tullymet on 28th July, heard a rumour to that effect, it is true, and conveyed the news to his brother.¹ But on the same day (28th July) Hamilton at Edinburgh was sending to Melville his 'humble opinion, that his Majestie must first beat Dundie and secur this kingdom or he attempt any other thing.' Sir William Lockhart, writing to Melville on the following day (29th July), anticipated Dundee's appearance at Stirling on the morrow.² On the 30th, however, Mackay, who was then at Stirling, received certain intelligence of Dundee's death, and

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xii., pt. viii. p. 41. Lord James had written to Dundee in some anxiety regarding the fate of his father's papers at Blair. A letter, seemingly to the Marchioness, on 7th August 1689 (*ibid.*, p. 43), states that the papers had been buried. It gives a pitiable account of the state of the Castle.

² Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, pp. 249, 253.

sent it on to Hamilton at Edinburgh.¹ Hamilton at once (30th July) wrote to Melville: 'This morning wee got news that helped to comfort us again, for I see letters this morning to my Lord Murray from sure hands, that Dundie was killed in the action.'² In London the first news of Killiecrankie had been coupled with the intelligence that Mackay was killed. On 2nd August rumours of Dundee's death were buzzed abroad.³ The news came like a thunder-clap upon his well-wishers in the capital. Sir John Dalrymple aptly phrased their dismay. 'Dundee's death,' he wrote to Melville, 'will look liker another action than a part of the same.'⁴ William, it is said, paid his enemy the compliment of declaring the war ended with his death.⁵

It was after the exhilaration caused by the earliest accounts of Killiecrankie that the London Jacobites heard of the fatal price at which the victory had been bought. The key to their attitude, and a guide to the steps they took to counteract the disastrous tidings, is found in a letter from Sir Adam Blair, at that time a prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster, to an

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xi., pt. vi. p. 180.

² Mackay, *Memoirs of the War*, p. 257. Melville replied on 5th August 1689: 'I apprehend Dundee's death will bridle a litle his party's joy and retard ther progress' (Fraser, *The Melvilles and Leslies*, vol. ii. p. 142).

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* xii., pt. vii. p. 253.

⁴ *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 215.

⁵ Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 59. King James's testimony to Dundee's worth is found in a letter to Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, dated from Dublin on 30th November 1689: 'We cannot sufficiently express how much we are afflicted at the news of the Viscount Dundee's death, and next the loss of so brave a man, what is sinseable to us is the opportunity we lose by it of rewarding his services by putting personal marks of our favour upon him; but since we cannot do that, we will largely gratify his family when it shall please God to put it in our power to do justice to merit' (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1689-1690, p. 338). There is no evidence that James attempted to fulfil his promise. It is true that Douglas's *Peerage* makes the statement that James the Third and Eighth conferred the Thistle upon David Graham. The person thus honoured, however, was not David Graham, but Giovanni Battista Gualterio, brother of Cardinal Gualterio, on whom about November 1705 James conferred the Earldom of Dundee, and on whom in May 1708 he conferred the Order of St. Andrew (*Stuart Papers at Windsor*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, vol. i. pp. 204, 225; see *The Jacobite Peerage*, p. 46). Gualterio's ennoblement as Earl of Dundee in 1705 is the only satisfactory evidence available as to the date of David Graham's death. He was in France in May 1692 (see *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 74; *Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 293).

Edinburgh correspondent. The letter is dated 3rd August 1689, the day following the receipt in London of the news of Dundee's death. 'We have an account of Dundies defateing Mackay,' he wrote; 'and to satisfy the minds of people heir, who are att present very uneasie, they give it out that Dundie is killed, which his friends heir are not apt to believe.'¹ In other words, having regard to the tardiness with which the information had been conveyed, the London Jacobites were of opinion that the Government had in its own interests promulgated information which it knew to be false. The party-managers were equal to the occasion, and within a short time of the publication of the Government's intelligence, a broadside was prepared and circulated among the 'honest,' which, with magnificent audacity, negatived the Government's declaration that Dundee had died in the action, by publishing, without comment, a letter from his own pen which proved him alive and confident, albeit wounded—an artistic touch, which met the official pronouncement half-way. To give an added air of veracity to the production, Dundee's speech to his army before the battle was concocted and published. The broadside appeared as follows:—²

*The Lord of DUNDEE's Speech to his Soldiers before the late Battle in SCOTLAND, and his LETTER to King JAMES after the VICTORY.*³

July 27th, 1689.

GENTLEMEN,⁴

YOU are come hither to⁵ Day to Fight, and that in the best of Causes; for it is⁶ the *Battle*⁷ of your *King*, of⁸ your *Religion*, and

¹ *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 234.

² The broadside is in the possession of Mr. F. L. Mawdesley, Fulford Cottage, Dormans Park, Surrey. He purchased it when it appeared some months ago in the catalogue of a London antiquary, and most kindly sent it to me to inspect. His copy, to the best of my knowledge, is the sole survivor of the many that must have been printed. It is of folio size, and very clean and fresh. Both speech and letter are printed on one side. With a view to determining whether the MS. copy in the Bodleian is a transcript of the broadside, or the rough proof from which the broadside was printed, I have collated it with the MS. copy in the Bodleian. I owe thanks to Professor Firth and Mr. Macray for their help in this.

³ In the Bodleian MS. the heading is simply: 'The Lord Dundees Speech before the Battle.'

⁴ The MS. has 'Gent.'

⁵ 'this' in the MS.

⁶ 'tis' in the MS.

⁷ 'Batle' in the MS.

⁸ 'of' is omitted in the MS.

of¹ your *Country*, against the *Foulest* of¹ *Usurpations* and *Rebellions* ; Having² therefore so good a Cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will³ Inspire you with an equal Courage to maintain it ; For there is no Proportion betwixt *Loyalty* and *Treason*, nor should there be any between⁴ the *Valour* of good *Subjects* and *Traytors*. Remember that to Day begins the Fate of your King, your Religion, and your Country. Behave your selves therefore like true *Scotch-Men*, and let us Redeem by this Action⁵ the *Credit* of our⁶ *Nation*, that is laid low by the *Treachery*⁷ and *Cowardise* of some of our Country-men ; In which I Ask nothing of you that you shall not see me do before you ; And if any of us shall happen to fall upon this Occasion, we shall have the Comfort⁸ of *Dying* in our *Duty*, and as becomes true Men of Honour⁹ and Conscience ; And such of us as shall Out-live and Win the Battle,¹⁰ shall have the *Reward* of a Gracious King, and the *Praise* of all Good Men. In God's Name then, let us go on, and let this be your Word, *King James and the Church of Scotland*, which God long Preserve.

*The Lord of DUNDEE's LETTER to King JAMES after the VICTORY.*¹¹

SIR,

IT has pleased God to give your *Forces* a great *Victory* over the *Rebels*, in which 3 Fourths¹² of them are fallen under the Weight of our Swords. I might say much of the *Action* if I had not had the Honour to Command in it ; But out¹³ of 5000 Men, which was the best Computation I could make of the *Rebels*, it is¹⁴ certain there cannot have escap'd¹⁵ us above 1200¹⁶ ; and of our Body that Consisted of near 6000 Men,¹⁷ we have not lost full out 900. This Absolute Victory made us *Masters of the Field and the Enemy's*¹⁸ *Baggage*, which I gave to your *Soldiers*, who to do them all Right, both *Officers* and *Common Men*, *Highlanders*, *Lowlanders*,¹⁹ and *Irish*, behaved themselves with an equal Gallantry to what I ever²⁰ saw in the hottest Battles Fought abroad by *Disciplin'd Armies*, and this *Mackay's* old Soldiers felt in this Occasion. I cannot²¹ now Sir be more particular, but take leave to

¹ 'of' is omitted in the MS.

² 'and having' in the MS.

³ 'twill' in the MS.

⁴ 'betwixt' in the MS.

⁵ 'let us by this action redeem' in the MS.

⁶ 'this' in the MS.

⁷ 'treacheries' in the MS.

⁸ 'honour' in the MS.

⁹ 'valour' in the MS.

¹⁰ 'Batle' in the MS.

¹¹ 'Lord Dundee's letter to K. James after the fight' in the MS.

¹² '3-4ths' in the MS.

¹³ 'out' is omitted in the MS.

¹⁴ 'tis' in the MS.

¹⁵ 'escaped' in the MS.

¹⁶ 'men' is added in the MS.

¹⁷ The sentence, 'and of our Body . . . Men,' is omitted in the MS.

¹⁸ 'Enemies' in the MS.

¹⁹ 'Highlands, Lowlands' in the MS.

²⁰ 'ever I' in the MS.

²¹ 'can not' in the MS.

Assure your *Majesty*,¹ the Kingdom is generally disposed to your Service, and impatiently waits² your Coming, and this *Success* will bring in the rest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, having had all their *Assurances* for it, except the Notorious Rebels; And therefore Sir, for God's Sake hasten to³ us, tho it be but⁴ with such another *Detachment* of your *Irish Forces* as you sent us before, especially of *Horse* and *Dragoons*, and you will Crown our beginnings with a Compleat Success, and Your Self with an *Entire Possession* of Your Ancient and Hereditary Kingdom of *Scotland*.

My *Wounds* forbid me to Enlarge to Your Majesty⁵ at this time, tho' they tell me, *they are not Mortal*; However Sir, I beseech Your Majesty⁶ to believe that I shall *Live* and *Die Entirely*⁶

Yours, DUNDEE.

July 28, 1689.⁷

FINIS

Any doubt of the spuriousness of the above letter is removed by the fact that Dundee is made to estimate his numbers at Killiecrankie at nearly three times their actual strength. For that reason, it may be, the manuscript copy of the broadside which found its way to Ireland and the Bodleian omitted so glaring an error. But for that omission the spurious character of the document which Macpherson printed might earlier have been proved. When and how the manuscript found its way among Nairn's papers cannot be traced. But it is not difficult to conclude that it was sent either as a curiosity of political audacity, or, more probably, as an indication of the party's vitality in London. In either case, the manuscript's derivation from the broadside is clear. In other words, the letter and speech published by Macpherson, which Napier and others endorsed as genuine on the evidence of the contemporary character of the manuscript from which they were printed, are deprived of their authority. For the puzzling manuscript is

¹ 'Majestie' in the MS.

² 'wait for' in the MS.

³ 'assist' in the MS.

⁴ 'but' is omitted in the MS.

⁵ 'Majestie' in the MS.

⁶ The MS. has 'whether I live or die I am entirely.'

⁷ The date is omitted in the MS.

now demonstrated to be a rough transcript of a Jacobite broadside published shortly after Killiecrankie with the object of confuting the first news of Dundee's death.¹

¹ The idea had occurred to me that the Bodleian manuscript was itself the 'copy' from which the broadside was printed. A collation of the two texts clearly demonstrates, I think, that the writer of the manuscript had the broadside before him. His shortening of the headlines, the employment of 'tis' and 'twill' for 'it is' and 'it will,' of '3-4ths' for '3 Fourths,' and other contractions and omissions, clearly point to this conclusion.

News of the battle at Killiecrankie was carried to James in Ireland by Major James Middleton (*Acts Parli. Scot.*, vol. ix. App. p. 55). The letters he bore were probably signed by Dunfermline. See *The Despot's Champion* (p. 322), quoting a letter from the Master of Stair, dated 2nd August 1689.

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